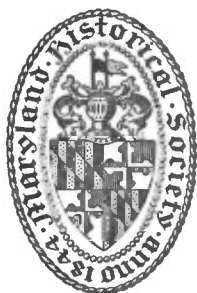


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1965

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"THE KEY TO THE WHOLE FEDERAL SITUATION"—THE CHESAPEAKE AND DELAWARE CANAL IN THE CIVIL WAR

By RALPH D. GRAY

ONE of the reasons most often given, during the early nineteenth century, in support of federal aid to the proposed Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was its potential military value in times of national emergency. Although the waterway was to be short, less than fourteen miles in length, its central location and its linkage of two of the young republic's major waterways—the Delaware River and Bay and the Chesapeake Bay—combined to give the canal unusual potential, commercial and strategic. Awareness of the need for a canal at the point where arms of the two bays nearly touched originated during the early colonial period of the nation, and a plan of construction was given serious consideration at the end of the colonial era; eventually, early in the nineteenth century, the Chesapeake and Delaware

Canal Company was organized. Initial efforts, in 1803-1806, to construct the waterway proved abortive, after which the company slipped into a period of somnolence. Its revival was accomplished in the 1820's in Philadelphia, and a low-summit barge canal was built between the years 1824 and 1829.¹ Only four locks slowed passage between the terminals of Delaware City, Delaware, and Chesapeake City, Maryland.

In 1805, when the directors of the young, impecunious company first appealed to Congress for assistance, they pointed out that the canal, once completed, would facilitate the military defense of the country. A committee of the House of Representatives agreed, remarking that in wartime the canal's "advantages would be incalculable," but it declined recommending financial assistance at that time.² Similarly, at the time of Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin's "Report on Roads and Canals" in 1808, which grew out of Congressional debate over the merits of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, reference was made to the military importance of the chain of coastal canals the secretary recommended, but national exigencies which led to the War of 1812 prevented action on the report. Even the experience of the war itself, which demonstrated the inadequacy of the nation's inland transportation system, failed to produce concerted federal action.³ Although Congress adopted the "Bonus Bill" which would have established a fund

¹ See Ralph D. Gray, "Philadelphia and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 1769-1823," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIV (October, 1960), 401-23, for an account of the company's revitalization and a summary of the canal's construction.

² Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin, eds., *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive. Class X, Miscellaneous* (Washington, 1834), II, 288-89; I, 452.

³ Both Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, supporters of the nationalistic program for federal internal improvements in the immediate postwar period, made pointed references to the transportation deficiencies which occurred during the war. Clay, commenting in 1818 on the deplorable failure of the government to appropriate funds for the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, stated that "a line of military canals is not only necessary and proper, but almost indispensable to the war-making power." Similarly, Calhoun exclaimed in 1817, "How much did we suffer [during the war] for want of good roads and canals!" Two years later, as Secretary of War, he proposed government construction of a chain of waterways along the Atlantic coast. "It is at all times a most important object to the nation," he said, "and in war with a naval power, is almost indispensable to our military, commercial and financial operations." Daniel Mallory, ed., *The Life and Speeches of the Honorable Henry Clay* (New York, 1843), I, 310; *Bulletin of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association*, XI (June-July, 1919), 4.

for federal internal improvements, it was vetoed by President Madison on constitutional grounds. Not until 1825, following renewed applications by the canal company, was government aid provided in the form of a substantial subscription to the stock of the company. This action, marking the first time a nationally important internal improvement project recommended by Gallatin was so assisted, was taken in recognition of the waterway's strategic national and military usefulness. Construction of the canal having already been renewed, it was pushed to completion in 1829. Thirty-two years later, at the outbreak of the Civil War, the judgment of those calling for government participation in financing the canal on military grounds was amply vindicated.

During the war troops and equipment, guns and ammunition, food, clothing, and supplies of every description were carried through the canal; Confederate prisoners were transported via the canal to Fort Delaware, an island fortress doubling as a prison located a mile offshore from Delaware City; "hospital boats carried back to the North wounded men who could have been moved in no other way."⁴ New highs were reached in total tonnage transiting the short canal, with an average annual traffic in excess of 790,000 tons between 1862 and 1865. Early in the war, moreover, the canal demonstrated its military usefulness and significance in a dramatic way.

Shortly after the inauguration of President Lincoln, the national capital was threatened with the possibility of being captured or absorbed into the Confederacy. Loyalties were divided in Washington as well as in the surrounding states of Virginia and Maryland when Lincoln took office, and an uneasy calm prevailed for more than a month. Seven states had seceded and more were considering the step when the firing on Fort Sumter and the subsequent call for 75,000 volunteers by Lincoln in mid-April forced a decision. Virginia seceded on April 17, and only the refusal of Governor Thomas H. Hicks, the Unionist governor of Maryland, to convene the legislature at

⁴ Robert Rossiter Raymond, "The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in the Civil War," *Professional Memoirs, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, and Engineer Department at Large*, III (1911), 269. See also W. Emerson Wilson, *Fort Delaware* (Newark, Delaware, 1957), *passim*.

once prevented the possibility of Maryland quickly following suit. The sentiment in Baltimore was clearly pro-Southern, and the few available militia companies from the North which were being rushed to the defense of Washington by way of Baltimore antagonized certain elements within the Maryland city.

On the 18th of April, only three days after Lincoln's call for volunteers, a small number of "unarmed and ununiformed Pennsylvanians" arrived in Baltimore on their way to Washington. They had traveled from Harrisburg on the Northern Central Railroad. Because continuous railway service through the city did not exist, the troops marched from the Bolton Station to the Camden Street Station, where the trains for Washington were boarded. A "howling mob" displaying secession flags and cheering for Jefferson Davis escorted the Pennsylvania militia as it marched through the city, but no blows were struck or shots fired. On the same day, troops from the soon-to-be famous Massachusetts Sixth Regiment, also en route to Washington, passed through New York amid the cheers of a crowd, making "a triumphal march through the city."⁵

The following day, when the Massachusetts troops reached Baltimore, via the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, a riotous attack was made upon them as they proceeded from President Street Station to Camden Street Station. The hourly progress of the soldiers as they made their way south from New York had been reported in Baltimore by telegraph, and tension within the city mounted. Colonel Edward F. Jones, in command of the regiment, similarly had learned during the morning of the 19th that the movement of his troops through Baltimore might be resisted. Accordingly, he ordered ammunition distributed but gave strict orders for a quick march through the city and for no retaliation unless the group was fired upon. When the train arrived, it was first attempted to have each railway car towed by teams through the streets with the troops inside. After 9 cars in the 35-car train had safely reached the Camden Street Station, despite the jeers and missiles

⁵ Bradley T. Johnson, "Maryland," *Confederate Military History: A Library of Confederate States History*, ed. Clement A. Evans (Atlanta, 1899), II, 17; Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events, with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, Etc.* (New York, 1862), I, 32.

hurled at them, the surging crowd, estimated to consist of 10,000 people, blocked the passage of any more. According to a Confederate history of the incident, the passage of the 9 cars "was as much as human nature could bear. The mob of infuriated men increased every minute and the excitement grew. The stones out of the street flew up and staved in the car windows."⁶

It was then decided to march the men to the station. As the troops debarked from the stalled cars and began marching in columns of four towards Camden Street Station, Mayor George W. Brown joined the captain of the leading company and persuaded the crowd to let them pass. This was done, but then the unruly crowd closed in again on the troops behind. A Northern newspaper account of the Baltimore riot described the scene which followed:

The military behaved admirably, and still abstained from firing upon their assailants. The mob now commenced a perfect shower of missiles, occasionally varied by a random shot from a revolver or one of the muskets taken from the soldiers. The soldiers suffered severely from the immense quantity of stones, brickbats, paving-stones, etc.; the shots fired also wounded several. When two of the soldiers had been killed, and the wounded had been conveyed to the centre of the column, the troops at last, exasperated by the treatment they had received, commenced to return the fire singly, but at no time did a platoon fire in a volley.⁷

Eventually the troops fought their way to the station and quickly departed for Washington while the Baltimore police attempted to quiet the mob and count the toll. Three of the soldiers had been killed outright, and one was to die later of a fractured skull, having been struck on the back of the head by a stone. Thirty-six of their number were wounded. The toll among the rioters was likewise heavy, with eight persons killed and many injured. Prominent and respectable citizens of Baltimore, as well as its rougher element, had participated in the attack, trying to repel what they considered an invasion of the state of Maryland.⁸

While this group continued to control the city, other troops

⁶ Johnson, "Maryland," p. 20.

⁷ *New York Times*, April 20, 21, 1861, quoted in Moore, *Rebellion Record*, I, 34.

⁸ Charles B. Clark, "Baltimore and the Attack on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, April 19, 1861," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (March, 1961), 47, 54-55.

en route to Washington returned to Philadelphia to await new orders. In the meantime, the Baltimore officials were seeking to prevent more troops from entering the city. After a public meeting was held on the afternoon of the day of the riot, at which \$500,000 was voted for the defense of the city, President Lincoln was notified by Mayor Brown and Governor Hicks to "send no more troops here." Lincoln's retort, through Secretary Cameron, was that additional troops should be "prepared to fight their way through, if necessary." Still later in the day, Mayor Brown learned from the president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Company that additional troops from Philadelphia were going to be sent through Baltimore. When this information was received, Brown and Police Marshall Kane agreed that the railroad bridges on both the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore and the Northern Central railroads should be destroyed to protect the city. These men later testified that Governor Hicks also approved of the plan, although Hicks was to deny it. At any rate, two parties were sent out on the night of the 19th and the bridges were burned as far north as the Gunpowder River. The Philadelphia newspapers carried this report of the event:

Last night a mob from Baltimore, lying in wait for the train from Philadelphia, at Canton, fired a pistol at the engineer, who stopped the train. The crowd, compelling the passengers to leave the cars, occupied the train, and forced the engineer to take them back to Gunpowder Bridge. There the train was stopped, and the crowd set fire to the draw of the bridge and waited till that portion was burned; returning to Bush River Bridge, the draw was likewise burned. The mob then returned to Canton Bridge and burned that. The train then conveyed the mob to the President-street station.⁹

According to Kane, who headed one of the two parties, the damages inflicted under Police Board sanction were slight, but later unauthorized persons multiplied their extent. Nevertheless, rail communications with the North were completely disrupted. Even the telegraph lines north of Baltimore were cut. Alarm at the events in Baltimore spread throughout the

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55; *Philadelphia Press*, April 20, 1861, quoted in Moore, *Rebellion Record*, I, 35.

country. The volunteers who retreated through Wilmington by train on their way to Philadelphia reported the details of the riot and its aftermath. Armed soldiers patrolled the streets of Wilmington for days afterwards. Anna Ferris, a resident of the city, described the feeling of the people in northern Delaware:

The excitement & suspense are almost intolerable, & the circumstances transpiring around us seem incredible. Yesterday the Massachusetts & Pennsylvania volunteers were attacked by a mob in Baltimore & a number on both sides killed & wounded—& last night the Bridges on our railroad were burned to prevent any more troops being forwarded for the defense of the National Capital—All at once the flames of Civil War seem raging around us. . . . The telegraph wires have been cut, Rail roads torn up, & mails from the South suspended, and we are all the time agitated by alarming & conflicting rumors.

We seem threatened not only with war but anarchy, as the Capital & the Government are in great danger, & the means for their defense very much obstructed & cut off—Baltimore is in possession of the mob, & under martial law, and we feel the greatest anxiety about our friends there, but can hear nothing from them.¹⁰

Washington was completely isolated from the North save for a single avenue of communication—waterways. It seemed as if the series of events, beginning with the secession of Virginia and followed by the Baltimore disorders and the severing of communications between Washington and the North, were leading towards the swift capture of Washington by the Confederates. Ben: Perley Poore commented on the despairing mood of the capital in those days:

Meanwhile, Washington City had been for several days without hearing from the loyal North. At night, the camp-fires of the Confederates, who were assembling in force, could be seen on the southern bank of the Potomac, and it was not uncommon to meet on Pennsylvania Avenue a defiant Southerner openly wearing a large Virginia or South Carolina secession badge. The exodus of clerks from the departments continued, but they would not say good-bye, but *au revoir*, as they confidently expected that they would be back again triumphant within a month.

The Reverend Charles B. Boynton, at one time the chaplain of

¹⁰ Ferris Diary, April 20, 1861, quoted in Harold Bell Hancock, *Delaware During the Civil War* (Wilmington, Delaware, 1961), pp. 62-63.

the House of Representatives and who later taught at the Naval Academy and wrote a history of the United States Navy during the Civil War, stated that the boast that Washington would be captured by the end of May was not an unreasonable one. In view of the Potomac River defenses erected by the Confederates, and the "formidable army" rapidly being organized in Virginia, it was a great "mystery" to him that Washington was not taken.¹¹

Part of the solution to Boynton's mystery lay in the existence of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. It was imperative to the safety of the capital that reinforcements be dispatched to Washington at once, and a Delaware shipowner came forward with an idea for accomplishing this by utilizing the canal. On April 20 Captain Philip Reybold reminded the federal authorities in Philadelphia that certain propeller-driven steamboats would fit the locks of the canal, and suggested their use to carry troops to Washington. Acting at once upon the suggestion, the government commandeered all such steamboats in and around Philadelphia on the 20th. The troops in the city once more headed south.

Some of the propeller steamers were sent, without passengers, through the canal during the night to Perryville, Maryland, on the north bank of the Susquehanna River, where more men and supplies had been rushed by rail. At daybreak, the troops, many of them members of the Massachusetts Eighth Regiment, were loaded aboard the vessels and carried down Chesapeake Bay below Baltimore to Annapolis. Landing there, they traveled the remaining distance to Washington by railroad, arriving late the day of the 21st.¹²

When other troops that had been sent in steamboats too large to fit the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal locks completed the journey around the cape and arrived at Annapolis, it was

¹¹ Ben: Perley Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis* (Tecumseh, Michigan, c. 1886), II, 80; Charles B. Boynton, *The History of the Navy During the Rebellion* (New York, 1867), I, 307.

¹² Testimony of Philip Reybold before the Agnus Commission, "Report of the Commission Appointed by the President to Examine and Report upon a Route for the Construction of a Free and Open Waterway to Connect the Waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays," 59th Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Documents*, No. 215 (Washington, 1907), pp. 44-45. Hereinafter this will be cited as *Agnus Report*.

discovered that Southern sympathizers had partially destroyed the railroad leading to Washington. In addition, all of the locomotives on the line had been taken away except one, which was dismantled. But one of the men in the regiment, commanded by General Benjamin F. Butler, had helped build that particular locomotive and was able to restore it to working order, and nineteen men responded to the call for engineers to operate it. After the track also was repaired, the new route to Washington via Perryville or Cape Charles and Annapolis remained open.¹³

The steamboat *W. Whildin* was one of those seized on April 20. According to a deposition made by its captain, Abraham Colmary, the vessel was loaded and ready to proceed on its daily run when "it was seized & employed under charter by the Government agents at Philadelphia and loaded with company stores for Perryville in Maryland, having first unloaded the goods intended for her regular route—the said Boat continued in Government employ under this Charter until some day in June" Afterwards, a new contract was made, at a lower rate per day, with the owners of the vessel, and it remained in the service of the government. During the entire war, the government seized and operated some 144 propeller steamboats for use on the Atlantic coast bays, rivers, and canals.¹⁴

It has often been stated that the existence of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in 1861 saved Washington from capture. Alvin F. Harlow, in his study of American canals, wrote that

¹³ "F. J. O'B." described how his regiment, the New York Seventh, "got from New York to Washington" via the outside route in a letter published in the *New York Times*. At 4:30 p.m. on April 20, after arriving in Philadelphia by rail, they boarded the steamer *Boston* and departed. The first evening "passed delightfully." Because of the short notice for making the steamer ready, however, the vessel was "imperfectly provisioned," and was much too small for the 1,000 men who were forced to sleep "dovetailed." The above information also came from this account, quoted in Moore, *Rebellion Record*, I, 148-54.

Young Andrew Carnegie was one of the persons involved in reconstructing the rail line from Annapolis; permanent communications, via water and rail, were restored by April 26. See Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life of Andrew Carnegie* (New York, 1932), I, 104-06; see also Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865* (Grossett's Universal Library, New York, c. 1941), pp. 60-67.

¹⁴ Deposition of Captain Abraham Colmary, n.d., Shipping Folder No. 4, Society Collection, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington; Philip Reybold, "Land-Locked Navigation Along the Atlantic Coast," *Report of the Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association* (Philadelphia, 1911), p. 328.

"The C. & D. Canal nullified these Confederate offensive arrangements and doubtless saved Washington," and John Maloney, ostensibly quoting an United States Army engineer, remarked that the troops rushed through the canal to Annapolis "arrived in Washington when Confederate troops were storming the bridges across the Potomac. Lincoln himself said the canal was the Union's salvation." The origin of these statements seems to have been the testimony of Captain Philip Reybold before the Agnus Commission, a special commission established by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906 to investigate the possibilities of a ship canal across the Delaware peninsula and the desirability of federal purchase of the existing Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. Reybold, whose father had originally suggested the use of the canal to the federal authorities in 1861, related the story to the commission and stated that if the canal had not existed the Confederate Congress would have convened in Washington rather than Richmond. Had there been no canal, he said, "You would never have heard the cry of 'All quiet on the Potomac' going up, although you might have heard the cry of 'All quiet on the Delaware,' and the blood that soaked into Virginia soil would have been poured out in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and reconstruction would have taken place in the North instead of the South."¹⁵

Although the latter portion of his statement was extreme, the general tenor of Reybold's remarks was accurate. Following the Baltimore riots, telegraphic communications were disrupted for a week, and it was several weeks before the railroad bridges and tracks between Philadelphia and Baltimore were repaired. By that time, because of the troops rushed to Washington by improvised routes and methods, the quick offensive against Washington which the Confederates had been planning was postponed and General Butler had gained control of Baltimore and surrounding areas sufficiently to assure retention of Maryland within the Union. General Bradley Johnson, a Maryland soldier who joined the Southern cause and later was to write a history of Maryland's part in the Civil War, stated that

¹⁵ Harlow, *Old Towpaths: The Story of the American Canal Era* (New York, 1926), p. 228; Maloney, "Chesapeake Odyssey," *National Geographic Magazine*, LXXVI (September, 1939), 379; Testimony of Philip Reybold, *Agnus Report*, pp. 44-45.

"Maryland's heart was with the Confederacy, but her body was bound and manacled to the Union."¹⁶

During the critical period between April and June while overland communications were disrupted, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was, to use the words of Reybold again, "the key to the whole Federal situation." Chesapeake Bay as far north as the Potomac River was controlled and patrolled by the Confederates and the river itself was heavily fortified by a series of batteries below Washington. "The Federal Government had absolutely no means of transportation upon the Chesapeake Bay until the boats were sent through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal . . . when they afforded the only means of furnishing troops for the defense and for the salvation of the national capital." Throughout this time the canal was used repeatedly to transport troops on their way to the front. In late April, the Indianapolis militia traveled 800 miles by railroad towards Washington without changing cars, but upon reaching Philadelphia it was necessary to go the remaining distance by water. Again, early in May, fourteen propeller steamers from Trenton, New Jersey, carried four regiments of soldiers through the canal to war. "The whole brigade, with its four pieces of artillery," stated the *Daily National Intelligencer*, "arrived in Annapolis on Sunday, May 5th, in twenty-eight hours from Trenton, and proceeded directly for Washington. It is stated that the fourteen transports, with a strong convoy, Commander F. R. Loper, made a splendid appearance, steaming in two lines down the Chesapeake. They had been greeted by a great Union demonstration as they passed along the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal."¹⁷

From then on, the canal was an important segment of the inland waterway used by the government for the transportation of supplies to the army. For use on the coastwise canals and bays the government chartered, in addition to the 144 propeller steamboats previously mentioned, 89 steam tugs and 842 freight barges, a total of 1,075 vessels. This figure constituted nearly

¹⁶ Johnson, "Maryland," p. 17.

¹⁷ Reybold, "Land-Locked Navigation," p. 330; Fred Albert Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Cleveland, 1928), I, 229; *Daily National Intelligencer*, May 7, 8, 1861, quoted in Moore, *Rebellion Record*, I, 268.

one third of all the vessels chartered by the government during the war. The chief advantage of the inland waterway, of course, was the protection afforded to the vessels using it from Confederate raiders as well as the ordinary hazards of outside navigation. Many ships which ventured away, either by choice or necessity, from the intracoastal channels fell prey to various Confederate cruisers.¹⁸

On the line of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, immediately following the attack on the troops in Baltimore, considerable anxiety was felt for the safety of the works. The alarming rumors that secessionists were planning an attack upon the Du Pont gunpowder mills in Delaware, that Northern troops passing through Wilmington were to be attacked, that Fort Delaware was to be seized, and that the canal walls and locks were to be destroyed circulated throughout the state of Delaware. These reports so disturbed the Secretary of War that he sent 200 men to reinforce the 30-man garrison at Fort Delaware and ordered the Pennsylvania militia to patrol the canal. The value of the canal was recognized by Secretary Cameron even before a military reconnaissance report drawn up later in the year emphasized again the need for it: "It is of great importance that the communication between the Delaware and Chesapeake should be kept open by means of the canal in case the lower part of the Delaware river should be blockaded by an enemy."¹⁹

Company officials in Philadelphia, however, showed little signs of alarm initially, refusing to believe that "the political troubles that now exist" might interrupt the trade of the canal. They assured certain lumbermen in Pennsylvania on April 18 that their products would receive "every protection on their part, they are capable of giving under the Laws," and the following day agreed to guarantee timber, up to 2,000,000 cubic feet,

¹⁸ Reybold, "Land-Locked Navigation," pp. 328-29; Emerson D. Fite, "The Canal and the Railroad from 1861-1865," *Yale Review*, XV (August, 1906), 198. According to Fite's figures, 283 American vessels, with cargoes valued at \$25,000,000, were taken by some 25 Southern privateers and cruisers.

¹⁹ Hancock, *Delaware*, p. 63; Colonel C. M. Eakin, Report of the Military Reconnaissance of the Susquehanna River and of the Country Comprised within the River; part of the Chesapeake Shore, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, and a line from Harrisburg to Philadelphia. Made in 1861, p. 96. Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

from risk of confiscation between Port Deposit and Delaware City. Upon application, however, the company donated \$500 to the volunteer companies of Home Guards in Delaware, formed late in April. They declined a similar request from the Philadelphia Committee on Public Safety on the grounds that they had already contributed to authorized personnel for the protection of their property in 1861, but in 1863, just after the Confederate invasion into Pennsylvania which led to the battle at Gettysburg, a small contribution to aid in helping form a volunteer regiment "for the protection of Philadelphia" was made. The company also invested part of the money set aside for emergencies in government bonds, the "five-twenties." In addition, in a precaution never before taken, the company obtained duplicate gates for all the locks, "to be ready in case of damage or loss, to those now in use," and the size of the contingency fund, for use "in case of accident," was increased slightly in June, 1862.²⁰

Apart from incidental references, however, and the large increases in trade enjoyed by the company, there is little in the company records to indicate that the war was going on. The company created a "United States Account," so that government vessels could pass the locks without payment or delay, and the manifests were presented later for payment. In addition, special rates were granted to private vessels employed by the government. R. F. Loper requested in November, 1863, that his steamers, "trading between New York and Chesapeake Bay by the outside route," be permitted to pass through the canal upon payment of a set toll. The company thereupon agreed that Loper's steamer's, "as they are in the service of the United States, shall have the privilege of navigating the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal: each steamer to pay the sum of one Hundred Dollars upon each trip through, loaded, and returning, if light, to be passed through *toll free*." Other shippers on government account requested and obtained special rates on particular items, such as hay, corn, and oats carried between New York or Philadelphia and Baltimore. One final indication

²⁰ Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, Board Minute Book, April 18, 19, May 7, 1861; July 1, August 5, 1862; August 4, 1863, Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company Papers, Historical Society of Delaware.

of the war was the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent tax imposed by the federal government on the gross receipts of corporations.²¹

As the foregoing indicates, the Civil War period proved to be one of prosperity for the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company. Not only did the canal carry its full share of war supplies, but the general freight transported increased markedly. This was true for most northern canals and railroads during the Civil War. It was remarked in the *American Railway Journal* that the year 1863 was "the most prosperous ever known to American railways." Erie Canal traffic also increased tremendously during the war, with the number of boats in use on the canal doubling between 1860 and 1863.²² For the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, however, in addition to its demonstrated value as a means of coastal transportation during the entire war, the events of April and May, 1861, alone were enough to verify its military importance. The wisdom of a federal subscription to 2,250 shares of Chesapeake and Delaware Canal stock was proven; the judgment of those who staunchly promoted the subscription on military as well as economic grounds had been upheld.

²¹ *Ibid.*, October 7, 1862; November 3, 1863; October 11, 1864.

²² *American Railway Journal*, January 2, 1864, quoted in Fite, "The Canal and the Railroad," p. 195.

ISAAC TYSON JR. PIONEER MINING ENGINEER AND METALLURGIST

By COLLAMER M. ABBOTT

ISAAC Tyson Jr. was born in Baltimore in 1792 and died there in 1861. During an unusually busy life he established himself as one of this country's pioneer industrial chemists, mining engineers and metallurgists. Although his major work centered on the chrome industry in Maryland and Pennsylvania, his interest in mines and minerals was wide-ranging and unquenchable. The mere report of mineral deposits—whether in Arkansas or Spain, Maine or Virginia, aroused in him a curiosity that must be satisfied by investigation and, if feasible, development of the deposits.

Isaac's father was Jesse so the "Jr." after the son's name is somewhat of a mystery, but may have been used to distinguish him from his grandfather who was also named Isaac. Jesse Tyson was a wealthy flour and grain merchant.¹ Although he may have worked with his father, Isaac eventually decided to pursue his penchant for chemistry by becoming an apothecary's apprentice.²

According to one source, Isaac, at the age of 18, was put in charge of one of his father's cargoes on a clipper ship bound for Europe. The vessel was wrecked off the coast of France, but the crew was saved. While waiting for a ship back to the States, Isaac got permission to stay in France to study geology, mineralogy and chemistry.³ At that time France was the only country with practical knowledge of the manufacture of chromium compounds. A Frenchman, Louis Nicholas Vauquelin, was credited with isolating chromium from Siberian red lead in 1797. The industry, however, was still in its infancy.⁴

¹ Mutual Chemical Company of America, *Chromium Chemicals* (c 1941), p. 11.

² *Ibid.*

³ J. W. Stickney, "Isaac Tyson Jr. in Vermont," in *Report of the State Board of Agriculture, Manufactures and Mining, 1875-76* (Montpelier, 1876), pp. 655, 656. This may be a somewhat romanticized version of Isaac's adventures. However, Stickney was associated with Tyson at the furnace in Plymouth, Vt., for a number of years and could easily have learned this story.

⁴ *Columbia Encyclopedia* (2 ed. New York, 1950), p. 2062.

About the time of, and probably before, his sojourn in France, another event occurred that was to influence young Isaac's life profoundly. In 1808 or 1810, an English gardener named Henfrey discovered what he thought was chrome ore in some black rocks on or near the summer estate of Jesse Tyson in the Bare Hills northwest of Baltimore. He showed them to Isaac, who, with his knowledge of minerals, was able to confirm the identification.⁵ Analysis of the rocks showed that they were rich in chromic iron. With financial assistance from his father, Isaac went into the business of mining and shipping the chrome to England where it was manufactured into paints.⁶

For a number of years the business of shipping chrome seems to have been conducted on a small scale. There was other local production of chrome and some processing in Maryland and Pennsylvania.⁷ Shipments of Tyson's Bare Hills chrome ore may have gone to a Philadelphia paint factory.⁸ In 1816 Tyson and Howard Sims established a factory on Pratt Street in Baltimore for the manufacture of paints, chemicals and medicines. Later as the business prospered they moved to Washington Street.⁹ After 1822 there was a greater demand for chromite in Europe where it was being used in dyeing processes,¹⁰ but it wasn't until 1827 that Tyson made the discovery that paved the way to his monopoly of the chrome business.

In the summer of 1827, Tyson noticed some black rocks used to chock a barrel in a farmer's wagon in Bel Air market in Baltimore. He recognized the rocks as chromic iron and immediately set out to find where they came from. The source proved to be the Reed farm near Jarrettsville in Harford County.¹¹ Tyson was soon in possession of the property and his career was solidly launched, for he had observed that the chrome

⁵ Nancy C. Pearre and Allen V. Heyl, "The History of Chromite Mining in Pennsylvania and Maryland," in *Information Circular 14, Fourth Series* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Geological Survey, 1959), 6; Horace Henry Hayden, "Description of the Bare Hills near Baltimore," in *American Journal of Science and Arts*, XIV (July 1833), 349; *Chromium Chemicals*, p. 12.

⁶ Guy Hubbard, *Windsor Industrial History* (Windsor, Vt., 1922), p. 47.

⁷ Pearre and Heyl, *loc. cit.*, 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*

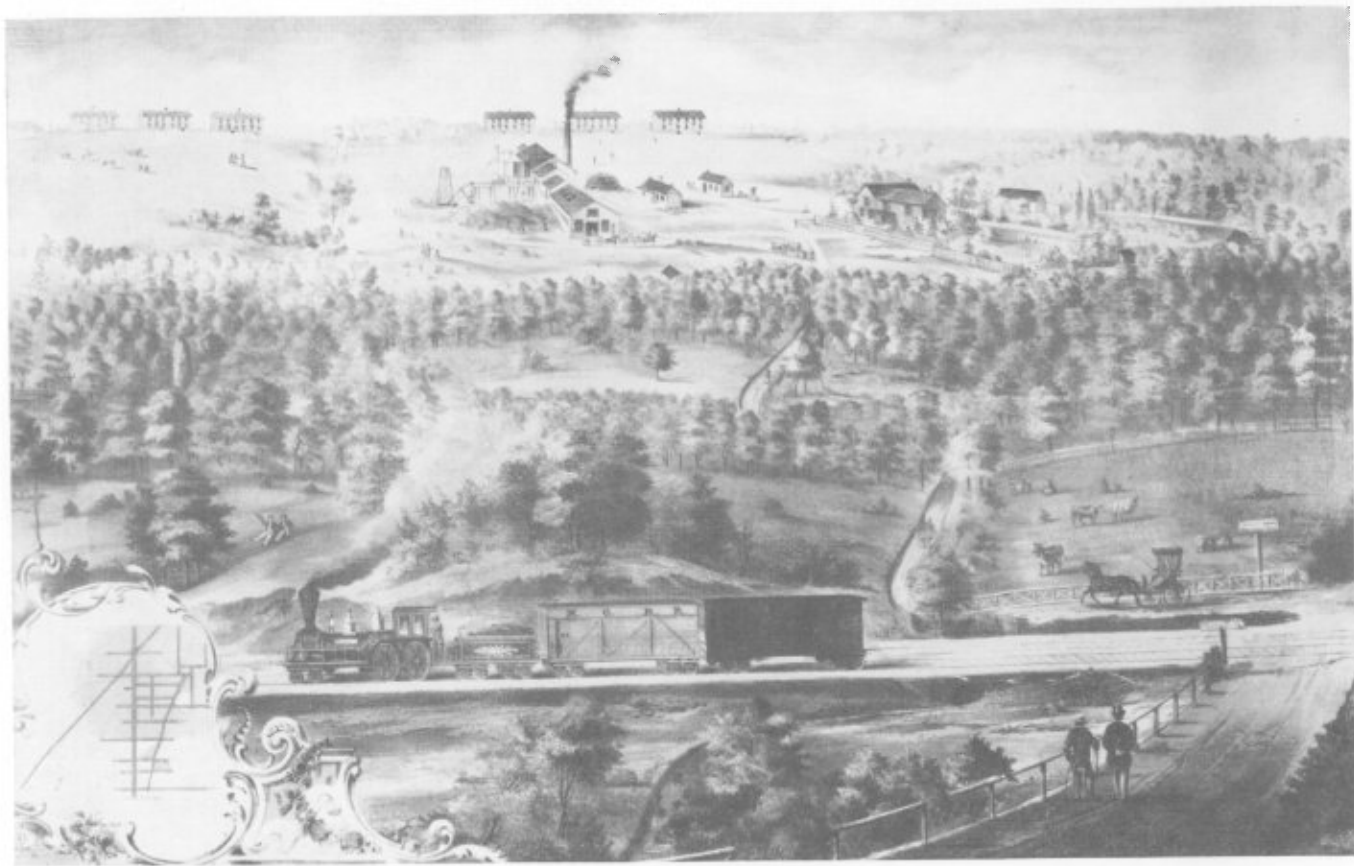
⁹ John Leander Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608-1860*, II (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 231.

¹⁰ Pearre and Heyl, *loc. cit.*, 7.

¹¹ William Glenn, "Chrome in the Southern Appalachian Region," in *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers*, XXV (1895), 487.



Isaac Tyson, Jr. (1792-1861)



Tyson's Bare Hills Copper Mine, 1870. Engraving by Schmidt & Trowe. See *Md. Hist. Mag.* (Mar., 1964), p. 17

occurred consistently in the serpentine rocks of Maryland. From then on he conducted a single-minded search for chrome from New Jersey to Virginia.¹²

Tyson's next discovery was at Soldier's Delight, about 16 miles northwest of Baltimore.¹³ In 1828 he opened the Wood Mine in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which proved to be the most productive high-grade chromite mine in the country.¹⁴ Other significant discoveries followed in the State Line area, among them the Jenkins', Lowes' and Line pits.¹⁵ There were other productive deposits—and many prospects leased or bought by Tyson which proved barren. For years the product was barreled and shipped to the firm of John and James White in Glasgow, the principal producers of bichromate of potash for the paint and dye industry.¹⁶ Later much ore was also shipped to Liverpool and London.¹⁷

Tyson himself attempted to make chromium compounds in 1828 and again in 1833, when he imported an Englishman for the job, but failed to establish the process commercially.¹⁸ Anticipating that his monopoly could not last forever and knowing that he must meet competition he persisted in his efforts to manufacture chromium by-products. In 1845 he finally succeeded and in the following year he hired W. P. Blake, a Yale college student, as chemist in his laboratory.¹⁹ This was a historic step in itself because Blake was the first college-trained chemist to be employed in technology in the United States.²⁰ Blake later became a famous economic geologist. Tyson's monopoly of the world chrome business continued until 1850 when exports began to decline as a result of the discovery of

¹² Williams Haynes, *American Chemical Industry, Background and Beginnings* I (New York, 1954), p. 201.

¹³ Glenn, *loc. cit.*, 488, 489.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 489.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 490.

¹⁶ Haynes, *op. cit.*, VI, 287.

¹⁷ Isaac Tyson Jr., Memorandum Book in possession of Miss Rosa Tyson, South Strafford, Vt.

¹⁸ Joseph T. Singewald Jr., "Notes on Feldspar, Quartz, Chrome and Manganese in Maryland," in *Maryland Geological Survey* (Baltimore, 1928), 159; *Chromium Chemicals*, *op. cit.*, 16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, also Glenn, *loc. cit.*, 492. Tyson's Memorandum Book indicates that Blake began work in the laboratory in 1850.

²⁰ William Glenn, "Chrome" in *Maryland, Its Resources, Industries and Institutions* (Baltimore, 1893), 122; Pearre and Heyl, *loc. cit.*, 9.

chromite deposits in Turkey in 1848 by J. Lawrence Smith, a geologist who had gained some of his experience working for Isaac Tyson.²¹ Although the export of chrome ore declined, the domestic business prospered and, after Tyson's death, was carried on by his sons.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about Tyson's career is that the chrome business was only one of many enterprises. Isaac could not resist investigating every mineral locality that came to his attention. This curiosity led him into a variety of activities, including copper and iron mining and smelting, lead mining and the manufacture of copperas, sulphur, and Venetian red. He or his representatives explored and prospected for minerals from Spain to Cuba, from Arkansas to Maine and from Missouri to Virginia.²²

Acquisitiveness was one key to Isaac's personality, a trait which he recognized himself and meditated upon. He was a devout Quaker, a man who shunned personal controversy, even shrank from firing an employee without first trying to help him correct his failings through an appeal to Christian principles. He worried about the propriety of working so strenuously to pile up earthly goods; yet he needed to provide for a growing family. His acquisitiveness was merely the manifestation of a naturally industrious nature and the shrewd business sense needed to succeed despite the speculative risks and hazards of mining, manufacturing and marketing his products.

Tyson pondered his dilemma in an entry in the journal he kept:

I am now going to Strafford in Vermont and for what purpose? All for the sake of gain and how great the sacrifice. My beloved wife not yet out of her bed and requiring the sympathy and solace of her husband. My little children requiring the care and attention of the father & my business neglected. that [what?] is sufficient to give comfortable support being all a Christian should desire. I am able to talk philosophically on these subjects and show the unreasonableness of avarice and the folly of accumulating wealth for children and yet I find myself persuing the beaten track.²³

²¹ Pearre and Heyl, *ibid.*; and *Chromium Chemicals*, p. 14; Singewald, *loc. cit.*, 159.

²² Isaac Tyson Jr., Journal of . . . kept from May 6, 1833 to July 7, 1834, at South Strafford, Vt., now in the collections of the Vermont Historical Society, entry of Oct. 22, 1833; also Memorandum Book of Isaac Tyson Jr., *passim*.

²³ Isaac Tyson's Journal, entry of Dec. 1, 1833.

Eventually, Tyson owned or leased, in league with other men of Maryland, most of the copper deposits of the state and engaged in smelting both iron and copper. The foundation for these activities was laid as early as 1827 when in February of that year Tyson obtained a patent for a new method of making copperas,²⁴ an iron salt used in dyeing and as a disinfectant and medicine. Copperas was one of the products he handled, so naturally Tyson was interested in deposits of iron pyrites from which copperas was made.

Given his curiosity, it is logical that Tyson would have become familiar with the major source of the country's supply, a mine in South Strafford, Vermont, financed by Boston men. Without doubt Tyson handled some of the Vermont copperas, which was shipped to seaports along the coast from Massachusetts to Louisiana.²⁵ Soon after he received his patent for copperas making, Tyson became associated with the principal backers of the South Strafford copperas mine, Col. Amos Binney and his son Dr. Amos Binney, of Boston, who were engaged in commerce, land speculating and mining.

In 1827 the Binneys were developing their mine to exploit the increasing amounts of copper that had been found in extracting the iron pyrites. They were also preparing to smelt the copper on the spot. Subsequently they undertook, with Tyson's help, the first large-scale attempt to smelt copper at a mine in the United States. The plant was the immediate forerunner of the custom smelting establishments set up in Boston and Baltimore in the 1840s. Tyson first teamed up with the Binneys in the purchase of copper deposits in Vermont near the South Strafford site.²⁶ As a result, Tyson was induced to take charge of the growing industry at South Strafford and for 15 months in 1833 and 1834 he superintended the mining and manufacturing of copperas, attempted to smelt copper ores and to make sulphur and Venetian red.²⁷ At the same time he directed ex-

²⁴ *Digest of Patents issued by the United States from 1790 to Jan. 1, 1839* (Washington, 1840), p. 138.

²⁵ Amos Binney, letter of March 31, 1832, contained in *Documents Relative to the Manufactures of the United States*, House Doc. 308 (1833), 22d Congress, 1st Session, Vol. I, 895.

²⁶ Strafford, Vt., Land Records, Book 7, p. 502.

²⁷ Isaac Tyson's Journal, *passim*.

ploration of a copper deposit in the neighboring town of Vershire,²⁸ which, under a later company, became a boom copper camp in the 1870s.

Although Tyson left South Strafford believing that his attempts to smelt copper had failed,²⁹ the plant was operated for another five years. Actually, Tyson accomplished a significant feat in late 1833 and early 1834 when he attempted for the first time in this country to use anthracite coal and a hot blast to smelt copper ores.³⁰ This he did at a time when neither anthracite nor the hot blast, both revolutionary developments, had been successfully used in commercial iron smelting in the United States. Neither was a new method. Both were being experimented with and the iron industry was on the verge of putting them into practice on a large scale by the end of the decade, but Tyson pioneered their application to smelting copper.

The attempt would have been of less interest perhaps if Tyson had not actually obtained a patent for a hot blast stove he invented which resembled the first one made by James B. Neilson of Scotland. Neilson obtained an English patent for his stove in 1828 and is credited with the first use of a hot blast to smelt iron. Tyson's patent was approved in April 1834,³¹ shortly after another significant patent was obtained by Dr. Frederick W. Geissenhainer of New York City in December 1833, for the use of anthracite coal in the smelting of iron.³² Tyson's stove was designed to facilitate the use of anthracite, as well as to make more economical use of other fuels.³³

Tyson left Strafford in August of 1834, but he was already exploring the iron deposits of Plymouth, Vermont, about forty miles away. After two years of preparation, in the fall of 1837, he put in blast his iron furnace using the air heating

²⁸ *Ibid.*, entries of Oct. 5 and Dec. 28, 1833; Memorandum Book of Isaac Tyson Jr.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Isaac Tyson's Journal, *passim*; William Glenn, "Biographical Notice of James Wood Tyson," in *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers*, XXXI, (1902), 118-121; James W. Tyson Jr., South Strafford, Vt., May 2, 1930, letter to John Spargo, Montpelier, Vt., MS in Vermont Historical Society Collections.

³¹ *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, XIV, n.s. (1834), 331.

³² *Digest of U.S. Patents*, p. 63.

³³ *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, XX (1835), p. 407.

system he had developed at South Strafford.³⁴ This made him among the first to use a hot blast for smelting iron in this country, although by this time others were experimenting with heated air systems on a commercial basis. Tyson used charcoal for fuel in his iron furnace, but with the hot blast he was able to increase the heat and to save fuel—significant advantages over previous cold blast furnace operation.

While closely supervising his growing Maryland chrome business during this period, Tyson was also investigating almost every mineral locality that was brought to his attention. Because he was interested in using anthracite coal as a fuel and because it was impossible to transport it in bulk to Vermont at a reasonable price in the 1830s, he eagerly pursued every lead that suggested coal.³⁵ Nothing escaped his notice. With the Binneys he invested in a lead mine in Eaton, New Hampshire.³⁶ He bought shares of another lead mine in Thetford, Vermont,³⁷ took options on iron, manganese, copper and coal deposits in Vermont and New Hampshire, considered the possibility of importing lead from Spain³⁸ and sent two men to Cuba to investigate a copper prospect.³⁹

After his "failure" in copper mining in Vermont, Tyson was instrumental in reviving Maryland's copper industry. In 1835 he opened a copper mine near New London.⁴⁰ In 1838 he reopened the old Liberty Mine and set up a furnace for smelting.⁴¹ In this enterprise he was associated with Elias and Andrew Ellicott, Francis Neal, James Harwood, Alexander Falls, Joseph King Jr., William Chynoweth and Jefferson Ramsay.⁴² The Dollyhide Mine near Liberty Town was opened by Tyson in 1845 and among those associated with him were the Coales, James and Richard, upon whose farm the deposit was located.⁴³

³⁴ J. W. Stickney, *op. cit.*, p. 660.

³⁵ Isaac Tyson's Journal, entries of Aug. 11, 25, 26, 1833, and Feb. 7, 1834.

³⁶ Memorandum Book of Isaac Tyson Jr.

³⁷ Isaac Tyson's Journal, entry of June 17, 1834; Thetford, Vt., Land Records, Book 12, p. 513.

³⁸ Isaac Tyson's Journal, entry of June 22, 1834.

³⁹ Memorandum Book of Isaac Tyson Jr.

⁴⁰ R. Brent Keyser, "Copper," in *Maryland, Its Resources, Industries and Institutions* (Baltimore, 1893), p. 113.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Laws of Maryland* (1834), Chapter 52.

⁴³ R. Brent Keyser, *op. cit.*; *Laws of Maryland* (1846), Chapter 206.

In 1850 Tyson was connected with David Keener, John H. Keene, George Brown and others in establishing the Baltimore Copper Smelting Company.⁴⁴ Tyson also operated the Bare Hills copper mine and the Mineral Hill mine northeast of Sykesville.⁴⁵ He opened the Springfield mine near Sykesville as an iron mine and smelted the ore at Elba Furnace, then discovered copper as the mine deepened.⁴⁶

Tyson does not seem to have been involved in the formation of the Baltimore and Cuba Smelting and Mining Company which was incorporated in 1845 to mine and smelt copper from Cuba and which built one of the first two custom smelting plants in the country. The other was the Revere Copper Works, established at Point Shirley near Boston a year earlier.

Although Tyson's influence is not evident in the formation of the Baltimore and Cuba Smelting and Mining Company, he was an incorporator of the rival Baltimore Copper Smelting Company in 1850 and David Keener, who had been associated with the former company, left it to become agent of the new company.⁴⁷ Certainly Tyson's experience in mining and smelting copper was important in erecting and operating the new works.

The Maryland influence on the Revere Copper Works, while more remote, was both direct and indirect. In his pioneer experiments with anthracite and hot blast at South Strafford, Tyson had had the assistance of another Marylander, Daniel Long, a native of Harford, who had gone to Vermont as foreman of the smelting department in 1831.⁴⁸ Long went to Tyson's iron furnace in Plymouth, Vermont,⁴⁹ after the South Strafford copper furnaces were shut down in 1839 and then in 1844 went to the Revere Copper Works where he became superintendent of the smelting department.⁵⁰ The experience he had gained under Tyson at South Strafford and Plymouth must have been valuable in the establishment of the Revere Copper Works

⁴⁴ *Laws of Maryland* (1849), Chapter 158.

⁴⁵ R. Brent Keyser, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 114.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁴⁸ *United Opinion* (Bradford, Vt.), March 4, 1892; also death records in office of the Secretary of State, Montpelier, Vt.; Isaac Tyson's Journal.

⁴⁹ *Bradford (Vt.) Opinion*, June 21, 1879; *Argus and Patriot* (Montpelier, Vt.), Nov. 15, 1893.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

which used furnaces similar to the primitive ones set up in South Strafford.⁵¹

The extent of Tyson's business interests is only partially revealed by the number of mines and mineral prospects he worked or investigated. He gave his attention to all facets of his enterprises. While in South Strafford he made an extensive study of shipping on the Connecticut River in an effort to find an economical way of obtaining anthracite coal as well as exporting the products manufactured at the mine.⁵² In the process he visited the proprietors of all the locks along the river to arrange more advantageous rates.

He was in constant contact with the businessmen, bankers and industrialists of Baltimore, Boston, New York, Washington, Liverpool, Glasgow, London and other cities.⁵³ He did business with the large commission house of Alexander Brown & Sons of Baltimore, with the Suffolk Bank of Boston⁵⁴ and other banks and commercial firms wherever his businesses were located. At one time, he was president of the Merchants' Fire Insurance Co.⁵⁵ His activities put him in touch with miners, engineers, chemists, geologists and land speculators throughout the country, as well as in England, France, Cuba and Spain.⁵⁶ Not only were these contacts necessary to conduct of the purely financial side of the businesses he carried on, they also kept him apprised of the location and availability of specialists who might fill a spot in any one of his varied enterprises.

A lifelong student of his chosen profession, Tyson was an avid reader of the French publication, *Les Annales des Mines*, a collection of which he apparently carefully guarded, for on several occasions he mentions consulting a back issue or lending a volume to a friend.⁵⁷ *Les Annales des Mines* would have kept him informed of the latest developments on the continent, such as the French experiments with anthracite made in 1827 and

⁵¹ Thomas Egleston, "Point Shirley Copper Works," in *School of Mines Quarterly*, VII (1886), 360-384.

⁵² Isaac Tyson's Journal, *passim*.

⁵³ *Ibid.*; also Memorandum Book of Isaac Tyson Jr.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Memorandum Book of Isaac Tyson Jr.

⁵⁶ Isaac Tyson's Journal and Memorandum Book of Isaac Tyson Jr.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

1828⁵⁸ to smelt iron with a cold blast and the first use of the hot blast on iron by Neilson in Scotland in 1828. Undoubtedly, he read the *Franklin Journal*, which kept abreast of chemical and metallurgical developments both here and abroad, for it was in this publication that both of Tyson's patents were announced.⁵⁹ He must also have been familiar with Benjamin Silliman's *American Journal of Science and Arts* published in New Haven, Connecticut.

But reading was not Tyson's sole means of keeping abreast of developments. He was insatiably curious about the practical application of any theory. Consequently, he was an inveterate investigator of metallurgical plants. He visited the copper mine at Simsbury, Conn., to scrutinize the smelting operations being conducted by a German smelter. He wrote down technical details of iron furnaces operated at Chittenden, Pittsford and Brandon, Vermont, and Albany, New York. He studied the layout of the copperas works at Shrewsbury, Vermont, and carefully noted methods of making charcoal used by different colliers. He recorded and cogitated, then experimented with any ideas he considered practical.⁶⁰ Even the shape of hand drills and the weight of hammers used by miners were matters not too inconsequential to occupy his attention.⁶¹ While he searched for ores, studied smelting furnaces, surveyed charcoal kilns and spied out new processes, he kept seeking better refractory materials for his furnaces. This led him on a widespread hunt for sandstone, special types of clay, slate and soapstone for lining furnace hearths.⁶² The quest for better methods and better materials was never-ending. Applying the word "unique" or "first" to any of Isaac Tyson's varied accomplishments is risky and would certainly lead to controversy. That Tyson's enterprises, however, were unusual in their diversity, extent and ingenuity is apparent.

After surviving the Revolution, the shaky start of the new federal government, the upheavals of the first fifteen years of

⁵⁸ Walter R. Johnson, *Notes on the Use of Anthracite in the Manufacture of Iron* (Boston, 1841), p. 14.

⁵⁹ See Note 33; also *Journal of the Franklin Institute* IV (1827), p. 142.

⁶⁰ Isaac Tyson's Journal and Memorandum Book of Isaac Tyson Jr., *passim*.

⁶¹ Isaac Tyson's Journal, entry of Jan. 29, 1834.

⁶² Isaac Tyson's Journal and Memorandum Book of Isaac Tyson Jr., *passim*.

the nineteenth century and the uncertainties following the War of 1812, the country began rapidly to develop its industries and to discover and exploit its natural resources during the more prosperous 1820s and 1830s. Isaac Tyson, along with his contemporaries in Maryland, was in the vanguard of the movement.

THE TOBACCO TRADE WITH FRANCE

LETTERS OF JOSEPH FENWICK, CONSUL AT BORDEAUX, 1787-1795

EDITED BY RICHARD K. MACMASTER

INTRODUCTION

JOSEPH FENWICK of St. Mary's County, Maryland, arrived in France in 1787 to establish an independent firm trading in tobacco and general merchandise between Georgetown, D.C. and Bordeaux. The partners were Joseph Fenwick and his older brother, Captain James Fenwick of Pomonkey, Charles County, but much of the firm's capital was advanced by their cousin, Captain Ignatius Fenwick. From his arrival in France until shortly before Captain Ignatius Fenwick's death in 1796, Joseph Fenwick sent regular reports to his kinsman and patron. These letters form the bulk of the Ignatius Fenwick Papers in the Maryland Historical Society Library. Letters from the Rev. John Ceslas Fenwick, O.P., the brother of Joseph and James Fenwick, and from Joshua Johnson, a business associate of Captain Ignatius Fenwick, comprise the remainder of this small collection.¹

Joseph Fenwick was one of seven sons of Colonel Ignatius Fenwick (d. 1776) and his wife, Mary, a daughter of Edward and Anne (Neale) Cole. The exact year of his birth is not known. In a letter written in 1793 he alludes to himself as between twenty and thirty years old.

A letter of his brother, the Rev. John C. Fenwick, O.P., written to Captain Ignatius Fenwick on May 16, 1785, thanks Captain Fenwick for "procuring Him a Place of Business and introducing him to the World." According to this letter Joseph Fenwick was apprenticed in April 1784 to a merchant in Georgetown. The context does not make it clear whether this

¹ The collection includes only one letter from Joshua Johnson, dated Nantes, June 3, 1780. The remaining letters, those of the Rev. John C. Fenwick, O.P., have been published by the present writer.

apprenticeship was served under Captain Fenwick himself or Colonel Uriah Forrest.²

When Joseph Fenwick arrived in France, the price of Maryland and Virginia tobacco was at a low level due to the manipulations of the Farmers General, who held a legal monopoly on the sale of tobacco in France. After several unsuccessful attempts to obtain control of the American export trade, the Farmers General signed a contract with Robert Morris of Philadelphia on April 10, 1785. By its terms Morris was to supply 20,000 hogsheads of tobacco a year and the Farmers agreed to buy American tobacco only through Morris. The contract covered the years 1785, 1786 and 1787. As a direct result of this monopoly, the price of tobacco fell from forty to twenty-two shillings per hundredweight.³

Fenwick's letters reflect the efforts of the planters and merchants of the Chesapeake region to end the monopoly and give evidence of the steady growth of competitive trade after it expired.

In 1788 James and Joseph Fenwick added John Mason to the firm as a full partner. He was a son of George Mason of Gunston Hall, the well-known Virginia statesman. Writing to Robert Carter on April 30, 1788, the elder Mason described the firm's prospects:

They are determined to examine themselves, into the prices and quality of all the goods they send to America; and as wines, brandy, silks, cambrics, chintz, calicoes, and several other articles may be purchased in France, of which Bordeaux is one of the greatest trading towns, as cheap as in any part of Europe, they hope to be able to give general satisfaction; and there being no other American house in Bordeaux they flatter themselves with considerable encouragement and preference, from their own country, so long as they continue to deserve it. They daily expect a ship of about 300 hhds. to load in Potomac river, upon consignment, to their address. Any tobacco, clear of trash and sound, although not of extraordinary quality, will answer for the French market; but from the number of British and Irish smugglers who frequent Bordeaux, I have reason

² John C. Fenwick, O.P., to Captain Ignatius Fenwick, May 16, 1785. Ignatius Fenwick Papers, Md. Hist. Soc., Baltimore, Md. Richard K. MacMaster, "Maryland Students in Flanders: Letters of Rev. John Ceslas Fenwick, O.P. 1784-1789," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, LXXIV (1963), pp. 185-192.

³ Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation* (New York, 1958), p. 202-204.

to believe that fine, stout, dark, waxy tobacco, of the best quality, will find as good a market there as in Europe.⁴

The firm of Fenwick and Mason received large consignments of tobacco from Richard Henry Lee and other Maryland and Virginia planters. While Joseph Fenwick and John Mason directed commercial operations in Bordeaux, Captain James Fenwick at Georgetown chartered vessels and obtained orders for French wines and manufactured goods. The firm hoped to supply the Southern market with the cheaper varieties of clothing and finished cloth used for slaves. As the letters indicate, their commercial interests gradually expanded to include New England whale oil and bone and tar and rice from the Carolinas.⁵

In 1788 the younger Mason appealed to his father to obtain an appointment for Joseph Fenwick as American consul at Bordeaux. On June 19, 1789 Mason wrote to George Washington soliciting the appointment. Washington's reply to George Mason indicated that nothing could be done at the time for Fenwick. John Mason approached Thomas Jefferson, the American minister in Paris, at the same time, to use his influence in Fenwick's behalf.⁶

Writing to Jefferson on March 16, 1790, George Mason described Fenwick as "a Native of Maryland, of an old and reputable family there, and of the Roman Catholic Religion (a circumstance which will add to his respectability in a Roman Catholic Country). He has been bred in the Commercial Line, and having been settled in Business three or four years in Bourdeaux, has acquired the Language, with considerable Knowledge in the Commercial Laws and Customs of the place. He has the Character of a Young Man of Integrity, Diligence, and good Sense; which induced me to recommend to my Son the Connection he has formed with him."⁷

⁴ John Mason to Thomas Jefferson, August 23, 1788, Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, 1955), XIII, p. 541. Hereafter cited as *Jefferson Papers*. Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of George Mason* (New York, 1892), II, pp. 211-212. Helen Hill, *George Mason* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), p. 245.

⁵ Rowland, *Mason*, II, pp. 214 and 298-302.

⁶ George Washington to George Mason, July 6, 1789, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, D.C., 1936), XXX, 353. Mason to Jefferson, March 16, 1790, *Jefferson Papers*, XVI, 232.

⁷ *Jefferson Papers*, XVI, p. 232.

In June 1790 Joseph Fenwick was appointed United States Consul at Bordeaux.⁸ His term of service coincided with the French Revolution and Consul Fenwick was a wholehearted supporter of the new regime. As a result, he was able to obtain concessions for American merchants beyond the reach of our other representatives.⁹

Fenwick's warm support of the Revolution led to charges being filed against him by Secretary of State Edmund Randolph in 1795. James Monroe refused to suspend Fenwick from office even temporarily, as he had shown himself "to be a useful, indeed valuable, officer in the station he holds." Further investigation completely exonerated Fenwick from any shadow of misuse of his official capacity, and he remained in the consular post until he was succeeded by William Lee in 1801.¹⁰

Captain Ignatius Fenwick, the recipient of these letters, had been a shipmaster in the tobacco trade between Maryland and Britain before the Revolution. In 1773 his ship was the *Royal Charlotte*, but in 1777 he commanded the *Lydia* cruising the Chesapeake and Potomac to protect southern Maryland from British raiders. In 1779 he was the master of the brigantine *Sally*, a privateer owned partly by Fenwick and partly by a group of Baltimore merchants.¹¹ On June 10, 1780 he married Mary (Hill) Carroll, the widow of Charles Carroll of Carrollsburg, an estate included in the present city of Washington, D.C.¹² Until his marriage, Captain Fenwick apparently resided at Baltimore, but thereafter made his home at Carrollsburg and Georgetown the center of his business interests.¹³ He took a leading part in the founding of Holy Trinity (Roman Catholic) Church,

⁸ Jefferson to Mason, June 13, 1790, *Jefferson Papers*, XVI, 493. *Debates and Proceedings of Congress* (Washington, 1834), I, 983 and 1016.

⁹ James Monroe, *A View of the Conduct of the Executive, in the Foreign Affairs of the United States, Connected with the Mission to the French Republic* (Philadelphia, 1797), p. ix.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 297 and 406. Mary Lee Mann, ed., *A Yankee Jeffersonian* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 265.

¹¹ *Arch. Md.*, XVI, pp. 422, 468, 480, 493, XXI, p. 277.

¹² Effie Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County* (Richmond, 1947), p. 315. Allen C. Clark, "Daniel Carroll of Duddington," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XXXIX (1938), pp. 4ff. In the latter Captain Ignatius Fenwick is unfortunately confused with his cousin Colonel Ignatius Fenwick of Cherryfields, St. Mary's County, the brother of Joseph Fenwick. For an accurate account of the Fenwicks of Cherryfields, cf. *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, I (1953), pp. 20-24.

¹³ Joshua Johnson to Captain Ignatius Fenwick, June 3, 1780. Fenwick Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

Georgetown, serving as the treasurer of the parish from 1792 until his death in 1796, and was an early benefactor of Georgetown University.¹⁴

In transcribing the following letters, the original spelling and punctuation has been adhered to as far as possible. Dashes in the original have been replaced by commas or periods, however, and, in a few instances, punctuation added where the sense seemed to require it. The salutation and complimentary close of each letter has been omitted (designated), but there are no other omissions or deletions. Where it has appeared necessary to supply a word omitted in the original or to amplify an abbreviation, these additions appear in brackets. Superscript letters have been brought to the line.

THE LETTERS

[Bordeaux, May 4, 1787]

. . . .

I wrote you from L'Orient by way of Baltimore which letter I hope has got safe to hand. I arrived here two days ago after a journey of 38 days from L'Orient.¹⁵ I stopt at Nantes, at La Rochelle, and at Rochfort and saw everything that was to be seen in each place, and made some acquaintances that perhaps may be useful to me and the total amount of my expences of travelling and living 2 months in the Country is 407 livres, a sum that I think is not extravagant nor have I been parsimonious.

I have waited on Messrs. Frenches¹⁶ who have received me very civilly and have made many professions of friendship, &c. The Nephew has paid much court to me and is making overtures for a connexion tho' his motives appear to me to be thro' views of serving himself as he seems to have great expectations from my connexions in America. The idea he has taken up himself, and not from my boasting. He has proposed to do the business and divide the commission with me. I shall let him go on, hear all he has to say and in a week or two determine who I shall connect with. Their character stand here pretty much as it does in America, that the

¹⁴ Laurence J. Kelly, S.J., *History of Holy Trinity Parish* (Baltimore, 1945), p. 18.

¹⁵ L'Orient, a seaport in Brittany, formerly important in the American tobacco trade.

¹⁶ The firm of N. and P. French and Nephew were wine merchants of Bordeaux, originally from Galway, Ireland. Anthony Lynch was the third member of the firm. *Jefferson Papers*, XI, p. 537.

Frenches are men of integrity but the Nephew is rather trifling and not much to be depended on, tho' I shall be able to judge better in a little time. Perhaps I may connect with him.

I find I shall be able to get what money I please advanced on Tobacco consigned to me for a division of the commission, so if any Mercht. think it proper to send me a Cargo of Tobo. and wish to draw for the money I shall be able to take up their Bills provided they come with the Tobo. and do not exceed the value of it, or I shall be able to comply with their orders in remitting the money to London or elsewhere to the amount of the Cargo before it is sold, tho' there need be no delay in the disposal of it as the Farmers are always ready to receive at the heretofore stipulated prices.¹⁷ This I assure you I think without partiality is the best place to send Tobo. L'Orient is a more convenient port and the port charges are much less, is all the advantages it has over it¹⁸ which upon a calculation I have made, are not near equal to the extra price on Tobo. of 30 Sols per hundredweight. I have not been able as yet to inform myself of the prices at this place and compare them with those at Nantes, but I am inclined to think Nantes is the cheapest for all dry Goods; living and House rent is cheaper there.

The treaty of Commerce with England¹⁹ which is now finally concluded and to take place the 20 this month will have some effect on the prices of Brandy and wine. The British expect great advantages from the treaty and the ports here are crowded with their merchants, forming connexions, soliciting commissions, buying cottons for their Manchester manufacturies, &c. Various are the opinions here respecting the price Tobo. will be after the contract with Mr. Morris elapses,²⁰ tho' it is probable the change will not be great.

I despise making apologies about not writing, but really the Ship by which this goes sails tomorrow and I have only been apprised of it to day [which] has prevented from writing to any of my friends by this conveyance. I have not received a letter from Maryld. since my departure. Pray write me often and be not backward in advising me.

¹⁷ Robert Morris contracted to supply 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco to the Farmers General at 20,000 livres a year. The contract was signed on April 10, 1785 and was to run three years. Frederick L. Nussbaum, "American Tobacco and French Politics 1783-1789," *Political Science Quarterly*, XL (1925), pp. 497-516.

¹⁸ I.e. Bordeaux.

¹⁹ The commercial treaty between Great Britain and France was signed on September 26, 1786. It appreciably reduced duties on a variety of goods. V. H. H. Green, *The Hanoverians* (London, 1959), pp. 177-8.

²⁰ The contract was suspended on December 29, 1787.

Shew Jimma²¹ this letter if you please tho' I shall write to him. I have directed to him at Geo. Town.²²

....

[Bordeaux, May 31, 1787.]

....

I have before me your agreeable favor of 1st April and have observed fully the contents. I am happy to hear that prospects in America are more pleasing than otherwise, and that Jimma has engaged to come to Bordeaux, which no doubt will be [a] great advantage. Every thing on this side of the water has turned up as much to my advantage as my most sanguine expectations had presaged and upon the whole I have no doubt of doing well if this continues to be a better market for Tobo. than England. I approve of your plan of selling my property in America if there is a probability of succeeding, which I shall be able to judge and determine on before Jimma leaves this place.

I find there is not the least difficulty in delivering or disposing of Tobo. to the Farmers and that I shall be able to do it with a little assistance to as much advantage as any person; They being always ready (and I believe glad) to receive it at the stipulated prices, as Mr. Morris has fallen short even of the quantity he contracted for.

I have seen Mr. Jefferson our Minister at Paris and consulted with him respecting the Tobo. trade with this country²³ and what regulations he expected would take place after the contract with Mr. Morris elapses. He says the Farmers will be precluded from purchasing American Tobo. at the English or any foreign Markets and that there will be no stipulation in the prices nor any new contracts made. These regulations had not as yet taken place, but he had no doubt they would before Jany. 1788 [when] this market will be as good as any in Europe, indeed better or they will not get their supplies.

I shall not have any connexion with the Frenches, as they are in some measure in the same line with myself and consequently any services they might render me would be so much injuring themselves. If I was to take any wines of them, they would have it much in their power to injure me, which injury, in proportion to the enormity of

²¹ Captain James Fenwick of Pomonkey, Charles County, an older brother of the writer. He married Catherine Ford on November 29, 1778.

²² Georgetown, now part of Washington, D.C., was an important tobacco-shipping port in the 18th century. Cf. Hugh Taggart, "Old Georgetown," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XI (1908), pp. 3ff.

²³ Joseph Fenwick had a letter of introduction to Jefferson from Uriah Forrest of Georgetown. According to Jefferson's annotation, it was presented on May 23, 1787. *Jefferson Papers*, XI, p. 60.

it would benefit themselves and self interest has too great a hold on mankind now a days to expect even from the warmest friend a service that might tend to injure himself. I have received civilities from them and mean to return 'em and live in the habits of friendship with them. They have made a stroke lately on the Consul General of America Mr. Barclay,²⁴ which tho' perhaps just I am conscious will make them very unpopular in America and perhaps injure them much here as it highly displeased Mr. Jefferson and I believe he spoke of demanding satisfaction of the Minister²⁵ for the insult. For further information, I refer you to F & S²⁶ whom I have related the matter to and requested 'em to shew you the letter. Write me what effect it has in America.

I believe I shall get my wines of David and Thos. Bonfield & Co., which is a very respectable House and have it much in their power to serve me well as any house in Bordx. I shall endeavor to make it appear to their interests to supply me well, which I shall be able to do after they see my consignments arrive. I shall act under their wing for the first offset, tho' without giving up any part of the commission unless they make any advances. These people are not known in America. I became acquainted with them by a recommendation from Nantes.

It will not be in my power to go into a counting House until this Fall, when I believe I shall. I have learnt as yet but little french as I have been obliged to associate with the English in order to inform myself of the situation of the country and trade, particularly the two months I spent at, and travelling from L'Orient here. I am now employed in writing my circular letters, which I shall send in a small box to you by the Cunningham from George Town via Baltimore. She will sail in two weeks. After I finish them, I must make some acquaintance among the Brokers, Shopkeepers, &c., as you know it will be necessary to know who stands fair and can be depended upon &c., when I have occasion for them.

Hogshead Staves are always in demand here, 3 feet 4 inches, price 10 £ to 12 £ per thsd./1200. Pipe nor barrell do not answer so well.

I shall not have to go to Paris as I expected. It is not a custom in this Country to deposit money with Bankers unless you expect some

²⁴ Thomas Barclay of Philadelphia (1728-1793) was sued for debt by N. and P. French and Nephew. The case is discussed at length in *Jefferson Papers*, XI, pp. 493-500.

²⁵ The British Minister was Sir William Eden.

²⁶ The firm of Forrest and Stoddert of Georgetown, later Forrest, Stoddert and Murdock. The partners were Uriah Forrest, Benjamin Stoddert, later Secretary of the Navy, and John Murdock. Grace D. Ecker, *A Portrait of Old Georgetown* (Richmond, 1951), pp. 16-17.

favors such as advances when you have occasion. There is always a regular course of Exchange between this, Paris, London &c. At present on London it is equal or above par, counting livres at 10 d St[erlin]g, a circumstance that rarely happens.

Mr. Robert Morris' agent in London has stoped payment under acceptances for near £ 70,000 Stg. which was caused by a disappointment in getting remittances from France. Le Couteaux & Co. (Morris' Banker in Paris)²⁷ refused to pay; whether he is ruined, the Farmers have not deposited money with him, or Mr. Morris is overdrawn, it is not yet known. The sum may be exaggerated but thus it is nominated here at present. I have been told secretly and I have reason to fear there is too much truth in it, that Mr. Johnson²⁸ has 20,000 of the Bills and, unless they are taken up by the Farmers, he must inevitably stop. This will be peculiarly hard on him as he has been so long struggling with innumerable difficulties to support his credit and in some measure get thro' them. F S & M²⁹ is said to have but a small amount of the bills. Don't mention this intelligence respecting Mr. Johnson until better authenticated, as it may effect his credit with you without sufficient cause.

I wrote you in March from L'Orient and the 4 inst. from this place via Baltimore. I wrote Jimma from Nantes in April.

Danl. Carroll³⁰ left England for Holland about 8th inst. He says he shall spend the greatest part of this year in France (where I don't know) and that he should see me before he left the Continent. I had a letter from Miss Hill³¹ yesterday. She expects Danl. there. She is perfectly well and desires to be remembered to her friends in America. My best respts. to Mrs. Fenwick.³² I wrote to her under cover to you this month via Baltimore. Your order shall be immediately complied with in remitting the 100 Guineas you mention if F & S draws on me for it and I have effects in my hands, as directed.

....

²⁷ Le Couteaux et Cie., Parisian bankers.

²⁸ Joshua Johnson of Maryland, who did business at Cooper's Row, Tower Hill, London. He was appointed U.S. Consul at London on August 2, 1790. *Debates and Proceedings of Congress* (Washington, 1834), I, p. 1024. *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, XIII (1913), p. 204.

²⁹ Forrest, Stoddert and Murdock.

³⁰ Daniel Carroll of Duddington, the stepson of Captain Ignatius Fenwick, was in Europe as the agent of the firm of Wallace, Johnson and Muir. Allen C. Clark, "Daniel Carroll of Duddington," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XXXIX (1938), p. 6.

³¹ Probably Ann Hill, a sister of Mrs. Fenwick, Prioress of the English Carmelite Convent at Hoogstraeten, Belgium. Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 429.

³² Mary, daughter of Henry Hill and widow of Charles Carroll of Carrollsburg married Captain Ignatius Fenwick on June 10, 1780. Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 315.

[Bordeaux, July 16, 1787]

....

I have the pleasure of yours of 18 May by the Samson (Patten). I enclosed to your care sundry circular letters by the Cunningham, Jones, via Baltimore last month and wrote you fully by same oppority. Since then there are great changes in the prospect of selling tobo. The Farmers have refused to purchase of adventurers at the stipulated prices under the pretext of having bought their quantity, and there being so much on hand for sale, they will have it in their power to reduce considerably the price. I apprehend it will be down to 30 # per bl. or lower.³³ Since the first of May, 7,100 hhds. of Tobo. have arrived at this port, about 6,000 of which are from Robt. Morris on account of his contract.

Berard at L'Orient has not sold a hogshead this year to the Farmers and has now upwards of 5,000 hhds on hand. The reason he gives why he has not sold is because the Farmers' Agent has been absent all this Spring from L'Ot. and not that he could not obtain the fixed prices, but I begin now to suspect the latter was the cause, and if it has not been, it will be in the future, as they have refused there, at Marseilles and, I believe, at every other port, tho' but very lately at manufacturing ports.

I expect now Jimma in every day but really despair of getting a pleasing price for the Tobo. and am in consequence of it more dispirited than ever I have yet been, tho' I am conscious I shall be able to dispose of it to as much advantage as any person in Bordx.

The prospects of a European war probably may favor the American trade and unless it takes place I think it will be hazardous making large remittances to Europe in produce.

The dutch States are at present in great confusion.³⁴ Their differences have been left to the Courts of Versailles, St. James and Berlin, which have not been able to bring about a reconciliation. The Emperor, it is thought, will grant to the A[ustrian] Netherlanders their petitions.³⁵

³³ I.e. 30 livres per barrel.

³⁴ The Patriot party, supported by France, forced the Stadtholder, William V of Orange, to withdraw from The Hague. His allies, Prussia and Great Britain, prepared to restore him by force, but the Netherlanders welcomed him back as well as his Prussian allies, France backed down, and a general accord was reached on October 27, 1787.

³⁵ Emperor Joseph II of Austria issued a series of decrees in 1786 that brought the Church in the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) under government control. Further decrees in 1787 abolished feudal and hereditary rights, revoked all previous concessions and grants to the municipalities, and brought Belgium to the verge of revolution. The edicts were repealed on September 21, 1787. Adrian de Meeus, *History of the Belgians* (New York, 1962), pp. 237ff.

Since the treaty of commerce took with England, Bordx. has shipt for that place three times as much value of property as she has received from it, but that is not the case with other ports in this Country, and as Bordx. is the seat of the Brandy and wine trade, the principal articles for England, it will receive more advantages from the treaty than any other port and consequently be the best place to remit money from, as the balance of trade will be in favor of it. Wines have raised lately here in consequence of a prospect of a bad vintage.

I find this a very extravagant [torn] to live in. My expenses will amount to £ 60 Stg. per an. exclusive of Clothes, tho' after I get Jimma away and make returns for what Tobo. is consigned to me, I mean to go a little way into the Country, where I will live cheaper and have an opportunity of learning the language in perfection, which I find will be rather difficult to do here among my circle of acquaintances. At present I can speak a little, and understand better. This I hope will find your family and all friends well. It leaves me in a most perfect state with moderation enough to keep so. Adieu.

....

[Bordeaux, July 22, 1787]

....

The enclosed is a duplicate per the Union (Tucker). Since then no arrivals from America, or changes in the prospects of our Market. Late accounts from London say the price of Tobo. is looking up there 2 d $\frac{3}{4}$ to 8 d 11, average at 4 d. We have now in port 12 vessels from America, the Cargoes of which consisted mostly of Tobo. Rice, Lumber and some Tar from N. Carolina.

All Morris' bills that were not sent back have been taken up by funds furnished by le Couteulx & Co., by which means Mr. Johnson is intirely relieved from the difficulties that threatened him in consequence of their being protested. The House of F[orrest] & Stoddert is in a more agreeable situation than it has been for some time, a proof of which is, that Murdock has but very lately taken an interest in it, and they now sign F. S. & M. D[aniel] Carroll, who embarked in the Washington, Gover, and is I hope with you 'ere this, can give every particular information of the American transactions in London.

The House of French & Nephew finding Mr. Barclay was not in the character of Envoy here got the *arrêt* that liberated him disannulled, in consequence of which Barclay was obliged to secret himself and has since privately gone off, supposed for America.

These little circumstances add to the lessening of American credit and respectability in this country.

There are uncommon warlike preparations making both in this country, and in England. In the King's dock yards they work Sundays and Holydays and are making the greatest exertions in fitting out their Navy. The Underwriters will not insure here without having a clause inserted in the policy for a war premium in case of war. The dutch affairs are still in the greatest confusion and, from the best information that reach the Bourgeois here, and from the manoeuvres of the powers around them who are connected with the different parties, there is every reason to expect a pretty general war.

The Emperor has refused to repeal the Edicts complained of as grievous and unwanted by the A. Netherlanders. The States on their part show a fix'd and unanimous resolution to disannul them, and support their former rights and priviledges granted them by charter, so nothing may be looked for in that quarter but open rebellion, all of which will prove no doubt advantageous to the American trade, but to be pleased with the idea is uncharitable and unchristianlike.

Having no business to attend to, my time is entirely devoted to enquiries, among the number of which politics is the only one that I think can prove amusing to you which has occasioned me to dwell so long on it.

If Jimma has not brought me the Constitution of the States of America as I requested him, please to send it me. I find it is necessary for a man to know *better* his own family affairs than his neighbours. Unfortunately for me, when I came abroad I ken more of Europe than of America.³⁶

This goes via Norfolk, Virginia.

....

[Bordeaux, November 18, 1787]

....

I wrote you by the Beckey that sail'd from this the 28th Ulto. since when I have not heard from her tho' I do not suppose she sail'd from the mouth of the River³⁷ before the 4 or 6th prest. I have now but little expectations of obtaining a good price from the Farmers for the Tobacco I have on hand, as the threatening appearances of a European [war] is now over. The reconciliation was signed and

³⁶ The Constitutional Convention met at Philadelphia in May 1787, but the Constitution was not actually drafted until September. Fenwick was misinformed, but prescient.

³⁷ I.e. the Garonne River.

settled at Versailles the 28th Ulto. between this Country and England. What has occasioned the very great bussel is not known to common people. It has certainly been something more than the Dutch affairs.

I have not as yet sold a single Hhd Tobo. but have from the advice of Colo. Forrest³⁸ shipped off 228 hhds to Rotterdam, 112 of which are of F & S 's parcel of the brightest Maryland. I have been much pushed to obtain money to pay all the charges of landing and reshipping the Beckey's Cargo, as well as to pay all the expences of the Ship which have not been inconsiderable, but so far have done tollerable well without making any sacrifice. What money I have procured, say 5,000 livres, was by the shipment to Holland in drawing bills on the Tobo. consigned after forwarding Bills Lading. Colo. Lloyd's³⁹ consignment has been a great disadvantage to me, as his Bills for 300 £ Stg. has already appeared, which money I must also procure by drawing on Rotterdam tho' to his loss. 20 of his hhds. are sent there and I fear the 40 will not much exceed the 300 £ Stg. as circumstances has turned out.

The tenor of Forrest's letters has been extremely friendly. Had he not come to Europe, I think I should have been obliged to make some great sacrifices, but as it is expect to rub thro'. I mean to set off to Paris in 8 days (if nothing happens to prevent) in order to see Mr. Forrest who is to be there and make some other arrangements. I shall leave my Tobacco quite secure here, it being impossible to make away with that kind of property *in this Country* without the consent of the proprietor. I shall leave a young man whom I have found worthy of being trusted. F. Blanchard, an American, formerly of Baltimore,⁴⁰ to act in some degree for me and answer the letters that may come directed to the House. When I see Mr. Forrest I shall be better able to judge of my future success and arrangements and for the present prospect I must refer you to Jimma, who I hope will be with you before this. I shall write to some of my friends in your quarter in a few days. Present me to them, all, who, from my late, and future attentions to them will never have an oppy. of accusing me of neglect, in writing at least.

....

P. S. Destitute of all prejudices, I have found the House of N & P French & Nephew exactly such people as Capt. Boukire⁴¹ and Colo.

³⁸ Colonel Uriah Forrest.

³⁹ Possibly Colonel Edward Lloyd of Talbot County.

⁴⁰ Unidentified.

⁴¹ Unidentified.

Fitzgerald⁴² described them to me. The Frenches perfectly good people, but the Nephew Lynch very far from it. I am sure he has taken every clandestine means in the world to injure me, yet never ceased in his professions of friendship &c. He transacts all the business of the House. The old men do nothing but drink Wine and entertain their friends and strangers that pass this way, which they do at considerable expence and unbounded civility.

[Bordeaux, October 11, 1788]

....

Your friendly and instructive favor of 20 June *intended* to come by the Union is before me. If your leisure would permit you to often send me such, they perhaps would have more *real* advantage than the consignment of a Vessel and prevent some of those errors you justly caution me against. You well know there is no person in the world can advise me so Candidly and so much to the purpose, and that there is none whose advice has so much weight with me. If repentance and a resolution of amendment could destroy the effects of my error or folly in the shipment of the goods last spring, there would be none of them now remaining, but untill all debts are paid [I] suppose I shall merit a hint of reproach now and then. I now send you enclosed a few observations for Capt. Fenwick⁴³ which I do not pretend are sufficient to justify me, yet may serve to show I was not so inattentive as the number of errors in the shipment made me appear to be.

Mrs. Fenwick may be assured her goods cost me as much attention as any person's that I bought, as there was not one among them that merited more, nor one whom I was so much indebted to, as her. I think the p[ai]r S[i]lk Hose and 2 pr silk Gloves s[ai]d to be for H. C.⁴⁴ ought to be found in Capt. Fenwick's or M & H Waring's Trunk, tho' if they are not he should have credit for them. I do not think the wood Shoes will answer for Negroes, tho' shall send you some by F[orrest] & S[toddert]'s Brig on the first opportunity. What I've s[ai]d with reg[ar]d to giving Blanchard credit in the observations to Capt. Fenwick are strictly true and I think fully enough to exculpate me. I never was when I left America more opposed to credit than I am now, and was, when in the act of doing it.

⁴² Colonel John Fitzgerald, a native of Ireland who settled in Maryland and married Jane, daughter of William Digges of Warburton, Prince George's County. He served on Washington's staff and was later a prominent merchant at Alexandria, Va. Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 256.

⁴³ Captain James Fenwick.

⁴⁴ Possibly Henry Hill Carroll, Mrs. Fenwick's son by her first marriage.

Mr. Mason⁴⁵ is just such a disposition, principals, understanding &c &c as I could have wished him to have. You therefore may conclude we shall suit extremely well together. He is *industrious*, attentive, *frugal* and *reasonable*. He has courage to form resolutions and spirit to adhere to them. He does not count a sou on his expected fortune from his father nor assumes nothing from his name or connexions. I govern and rule in every instance and at same time adopt his plans, follow his advice and go according to his direction and wishes. We charge all the expences arising from transacting the business, our Boards and washing into a general account and suppose our services will be about [the] same for all three, so no charge will be made of them, I imagine. If Capt. Fenwick carries things on smoothly in America, he will have as much or more trouble than either of us. Since Mason has arrived we have been very *closely* engaged. Business has exceeded his and my expectations. We have had a large and valuable Cargo put in our hands from Boston, consisting of Whale Oil, Bone, Rice and Tar. We have sold about 5,000 livres worth of it, and dispatched the Brig with a few articles from this [place] and a load of Salt. We came under acceptance for 31,000 livres on account of the Cargo, which falls due in about 2 months from this. We have sold to the amount of those acceptances, all the Ship's disbursements, outfits &c &c., and have a good parcel of Oil yet on hand, value about 15 or 20,000 livres. This was an unexpected Commission, and may be a great advantage to us by making us acquainted in Boston &c.

The Union's Cargo we have sold to the Farmers and completed the delivery in less than a month after it was landed. The Tobo. will net about 200 livres per hogshead. The price was 32 livres per hundredweight . . .⁴⁶ We expect the Betsey's Cargo will go at same. We find ourselves fully in Cash to make all reasonable advances asked of us, and negotiate with ease. When I consider how far we are advanced and the causes it is owing to, I am afraid to begin my acknowledgements to you, least my pen should fall short of testifying the remembrance I bear of your favors in so ample a manner as my feelings tell me they require. This subject has thrown me into so pensive a humour, I fear I shall not observe to you all that I first intended.

I shall guard against drawing, redrawing and discounting at loss to raise money, as ruin must be the end of such proceedings,

⁴⁵John Mason, Fenwick's partner. His residence was at Analostan Island in the Potomac, opposite Georgetown Hill, *Mason*, p. 250f.

⁴⁶The following phrase is unclear. It seems to read "15 per Cn. Fare."

and the commencement of them marks but too justly the want of funds, credit and resources.

We have proposed that one of us should go to America next Summer and make a tour thro' the Continent, and both of us think it very advisable and if only one Cargo was procured, the Commissions on it would pay the expences and we certainly should, I think, procure by it many. I want to go, and Mr. Mason had rather stay, but he observes he could not do so well here as me, and in America perhaps better, and he judges right, so I suppose it will be him that will go, and I must deny myself the pleasure of seeing America 2 or 3 years longer, but I assure you my desire of returning is so great that I shall not be content until I can with *propriety* embark. After this idea, I am afraid you will call me a Child.

Charles Carroll is due at Bornhem⁴⁷ £ 21—10—10. The enclosed is the amount sent me by the Procurator⁴⁸ himself that has never been paid. I have had until very lately very favorable accounts of H. Brook⁴⁹ from Bornhem, but the last letters my Brother⁵⁰ marks that his head is full of "Notions," that he thinks about *vacances* &c.,⁵¹ likes to be writing an unnecessary quantity of Letters to his fr[ien]ds and acquaintances. He has been very studious, too much so for the good of his health, and my Brother took him *en voyage*⁵² with him about the low Countrys. I suppose that may have put a few notions in his head.

I think with you respecting our necessity of a ship and think, for the reasons you give, one of 250 to 300 hhds. burthen the best size. I think we shall be able in six months from this to procure one, especially if Capt. Fenwick complys with what he has agreed to in our Articles of Copartnership of raising 1,000 £ Stg. each in 18 months. I do not mean to insinuate that I do not like the Articles. I think they are as good as need be and well made up, especially if we can comply.

I have yet omitted mentioning to you my request to jimmy to

⁴⁷ The English Dominicans maintained a private academy at Bornhem in Flanders, attended by many Maryland Catholic students. Its extant records were printed in *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, XXV (1925).

⁴⁸ The treasurer of the Bornhem school.

⁴⁹ Master Henry Brooke enrolled at Bornhem on November 5, 1787. *Catholic Record Society*, XXV (1925), p. 167. This was Henry Brooke, son of Captain Henry and Mary Brooke of Upper Marlboro, Prince George's County. Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 90.

⁵⁰ The Rev. John Ceslas Fenwick, O.P., the writer's brother. He later returned to Maryland and died on August 20, 1815 at St. Ignatius Church, Chapel Point, Charles County. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., "Rev. John Ceslas Fenwick, O.P.," *Catholic Historical Review*, I (1915), 17-29.

⁵¹ I.e. vacations.

⁵² I.e. on a trip.

apply for the Consul's office,⁵³ but mentioned it to some of your family which w[oul]d immediately advise you. It will be, I think, very useful to me here; perhaps more so than you can imagine. Had Colo. Mason⁵⁴ not have been so great an A[nti] federal [ist], he could have secured it, but whether Jimmy can make interest enough to get it I do not know. You will no doubt instruct and council him on that as you have in all other instances, but I assure you Consul or even Ambassador, was I capable, w[oul]d not content me to stay in Europe, tho' as I am doomed here for some time [I] must endeavor for all advantages possible.

....

[Bordeaux, February 25, 1789]

....

I have the pleasure of yours by the Washington. I observe you hint an idea of my feelings being injured by your free mode of censuring my conduct, when I am conscious my proceedings merit reproach, and when I well know your motives for observations thereon. You knowing my disposition, I am convinced you cannot think as you have hinted [and] therefore need not say anything more on the subject, more than assuring you that when you cease to write *freely* to me, I shall think you mean to withdraw that friendship and council which has been the means of establishing me in the world and which I count on as a great assistant protection thro' life.

I got the other day a most confounded fright, which I must confess I meritted. Whiteside of London stopped and his affairs were all in confusion and he thrown into prison⁵⁵ in our debt about 11 to 12,000 livres and W[hiteside] & Caton⁵⁶ 9 to 10,000 livres. He has since arranged his affairs and is going on again, but (*entre nous*) I believe far from on a stable footing. In the meantime there arrived a Cargo from Alexandria here, value about 3,000 £ Stg. which I immediately attached, being his property by the Bills Lading which I managed to get a sight of, which attachment *shall lay* until our claims both on him and W & C is finally paid. The suits that were brought against him in London were withdrawn on his paying one-third Cash and giving his Bills @ 3 and 6 months for the balance and he will be obliged to acquit our account before he can touch a sou of this Cargo of 3,000 £ Stg. which treble the amount of our claim, so I think we are entirely secure. We accepted for

⁵³ George Mason promised to use his influence in Fenwick's behalf in a letter to his son, December 18, 1788. Hill, *Mason*, p. 251.

⁵⁴ Colonel George Mason.

⁵⁵ I.e. debtors' prison.

⁵⁶ Richard Caton, son-in-law of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

W & C on account of Tobo. shipped us by the Mercury from Baltimore which has never appeared and were tantalised into acceptances from account of Whiteside by his promising great consignments from America this winter, which has come to another House here, part of 2 Cargoes beside the one we attached, a reason that was insufficient, and I promise on like occasions in the future *shall be* insufficient.

I wrote Capt. James a few days ago to attach W & C's property in America for his debt, but if it is not done, I now request that he would not do it, as I deem myself fully secure.

Our reputation here is raising and our business is as promising as could possibly be expected. I am now looked on here with some respectability, which never has been the case but very lately. I shall write Capt. [torn] on this occasion pretty fully. Mr. Mason is at Paris. Tobo. is dull. The Farm[ers] offer only 28 livres and 10 sols and we expect they will not exceed 30, if they come to that. Wheat and Flour are high, but the Market must soon be glutted as it is arriving every day from different quarters.

....

[Bordeaux, December 8, 1790]

....

On my arrival here I set down in the resolution to attend to business, to avoid all recollection of what is called trifles and cease by degrees all correspondence of friendship, letting the neglect however arise on their part. That is to say, I never will offer another reproach for having been forgotten, unless it be to make a person pleased with himself *a la française*. But before going any further I must tell the class in which I place my correspondence with you is Duty, and as that class is not with me very large, I shall be the better able to attend to it. As yet I have rigidly adheared to my resolution.

Mr. Mason, more for his health than pleasure, has turned his back on the Compting House, which his prudence would not have permitted, had he not seen my disposition to adhere to it.

Without knowing why or wherefore, I have lost *in toto* the desire of being in America and do not even incline to ruminate on this party at Turkey buzzard, a Ball at Geo[rge] Town, trip to Notley Hall,⁵⁷ visit to Mellwood,⁵⁸ &c., &c., the enjoyment of which I have

⁵⁷ The original Notley Hall occupied the site of S.W. Washington, D.C., the mansion standing near 10th and G Streets, S.W. It was the estate of Notley Young (1736-1802). George C. Henning, "The Mansion and Family of Notley Young," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XVI (1913), pp. 1-24.

⁵⁸ Mellwood Park, Prince George's County, the home of Ignatius Digges, who bequeathed it on his death in 1785 to his grandson, Ignatius Digges Lee. Bowie, *Across the Years*, pp. 274-279.

been so completely fascinated with, but whenever my eyes are turned towards America, St. Inigoes,⁵⁹ St. Geo[rge]s,⁶⁰ Pomenky,⁶¹ and Carrollsburg⁶² takes up my imagination. Admitting this change, which you will perhaps with some difficulty do, you may be led to attribute it to my expectations of moving here in sphere of . . .⁶³ flatters men in general particularly those about my ability and disposition, and that may in fact be the real cause, but it is not known to me. That I shall with decent deportment move in a line that I could not in America is a fact, yet to preserve that dignity I am determined not to sacrifice either my time or my property which perhaps will be the only means of doing it, others, I shall certainly not attempt.⁶⁴ Our House here enjoys an unsullied reputation and is as good for what negotiations it makes and what business it does as any in Bordeaux[.] This once established and preserved is all the dignity a Merchant ought to look for, as a merchant, and as a man, and as [for] a Consul, that character is filled here only by traders and is so blended with a Merchant that it does not raise one atom above them either in rank or society, yet it gives him a certain confidence among society and trade that enables him to pass over certain punctilios, that otherwise he would be obliged to conform to,—this while it saves the purse flatters the mind, tho' it endangers the manners. Now all that I have to apply to here, is to live within my income, attend to my business and conduct myself with prudence. Knowing this, if I have not fortitude enough to conform, I shall own that I have not merit enough to be pityed. Thus far I have dwelt on self, the darling subject of the human heart, yet when I began this letter I assure you I did not intend it. I will touch on affairs the next near subject to self, and you must have some interest in my welfare not to be *ennuyer* with them.

Our business is now not adequate to our expences. Of course a reform is immediately to take place, and if that does not succeed to bring down the expences of living here to 400 £ Stg. per an. or £ 500 at most, I break up house keeping and go again into a pension, which in the present state of affairs woud neither wound my feelings or injure my reputation as a Merchant. The rate of our present expences is between 6 and 700 £ Stg. per an., tho' that has only been

⁵⁹ St. Inigoe's Manor, St. Mary's County.

⁶⁰ St. George's Island, St. Mary's County.

⁶¹ Pomonkey, Charles County, the residence of Captain James Fenwick.

⁶² Carrollsburg, along the Potomac in the vicinity of Buzzard's Point, in what is now Washington, D.C., was the estate of Mrs. Fenwick's first husband, Charles Carroll of Carrollsburg (d. 1773).

⁶³ A full line has been obliterated by folding.

⁶⁴ I.e. He will not use the time or property of others for his own advancement.

for two or four months past and I don't believe it has exceeded 600 £. The reform is to be on the departure of Mr. Mason⁶⁵—one servant and one clerk, with a retrenchment in the mode of living—and unless business should increase that will not suffice. Since last June we have only had the Washington and a Brigg with Oil from America, the commissions on which will not pay the expences of living here.⁶⁶ We have had a few other consignments, tho' inconsiderable in themselves yet [it] serves to keep up the appearances of business and give employment, which few Houses for this year past have been able to do here.

Mr. Mason goes in a few days to Marseilles and means to return to embark for America after March. Markets here for Tob[acco] are in the greatest incertitude and will remain so until the national assembly say in what manner that trade is to be conducted in this country. We have yet all the Washington Cargo on hand and expect to hold it until the decision in question takes place, which is uncertain. The political Constitution of the Country seems permanently established and beyond danger of convulsions or counterchange. The paper money that was issued on the funds of the Clergy and national domain, is in entire confidence, altho' there is a difference in the specie of 4 @ 5 per Cn. yet it may be attributed to a scarcity or appreciation of the former. Merchandize, House rent, Wages and provisions, all of which are paid now in this paper, has not in the smallest degree augmented in price. The property on which it is founded is now selling everyday and at prices 50 percent higher than they were estimated by an appraisement made and given in to the national assembly. There was 1200 million of money, livres, ordered to be struck, one third of which is in circulation now, and the sales of the national property amount to about 8 million a week, which money is to be burnt on a public square at Paris as fast as it comes in.⁶⁷ The property of the Clergy confiscated is estimated at 1800 million and at the rate the sales have been made it will produce 2700 million. This money is to be applied to the payment of national pensions, and reimbursing the *Charges* that were formerly sold by government, as you know to all civil officers and master tradesmen whatever, which are now abolished.⁶⁸ The monks are to be allowed a pension of 800 to 1200

⁶⁵ John Mason planned to return to America after March 1791.

⁶⁶ Fenwick and Mason offered Jefferson a passage in the *Washington*, Captain Bond, due to sail for the Potomac on July 21, 1789. *Jefferson Papers*, XV, p. 265.

⁶⁷ The decree on *assignats*, issued by the National Assembly on April 17, 1790, contained the provisions detailed in this letter. John H. Stewart, *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution* (New York, 1951), pp. 159-62.

⁶⁸ The decree confiscating Church property was issued on November 2, 1789. Stewart, *Documentary Survey*, p. 158.

livres per an. according to their age, and the curates' salaries will be bettered by the revolution. Only the high Clergy, such as Bishops, [Arch] Deacons and rich abbeyes, will be worsted by the change. It is not to be supposed the monks will be worsted, at least if their former pretensions of self denial and abstemiousness be admitted, as they did not live ever above what their pension will now permit them, altho' their revenues might exceed it fifty fold. The poor Cardinals and A[rch] Bishops' revenues will be reduced to 12,000 livres per an., on a level with the Bishops, which are never to exceed eighty-three in number in this country.⁶⁹

As to the nobility, all titles, arms, liveries and privileges and abolished except the distinctions of merit, such as the chevaliers of St. Louis, the cordons rouge and blue, which were never hereditary and obtained only by military or other signal services to the country. The civil and Judiciary Courts are totally changed in name and mode, and established something in the manner of our incorporated Towns in America. All the people in this country, you know, live in Towns, which are now governed by Mayors, aldermen, Justices of peace, &c. All these new Courts are now organized and in the exercise of their functions and the Citizens peaceably obey them, either thro' the habit of obeying, or from an enthousiasm for the new mode and Jealousy to preserve order under it. Thus you have a little scytch of affairs in this Country, at least of the civil.

The military (regular) are on the former establishment exactly with respect to discipline only they are subject to the authority of the City where quartered and the wages of the Soldiers and subalterns raised one half. There is a militia established thro'out the Kingdom and [they] exercise regularly, accoutered with guns, Bayonets and cartridge Boxes and ammunition, the total amounting to about 3 million of men. In Bordeaux they parade about 15,000 in uniform, Blue and red, and call themselves the garde nationale.⁷⁰

As to other politicks of Europe, peace between the southern powers seems to be established.⁷¹ The Spaniards have given up their pretensions to the N. W. coast of Am[eric]a north of Nootka and the English [are] content to pay the loss of their armaments, in value perhaps 20 fold more than they have gained, but all the marine

⁶⁹ Fenwick summarizes the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, issued July 12, 1790. Stewart, *Documentary Survey*, pp. 168-81.

⁷⁰ The Garde Nationale was established by a decree of August 10, 1789. Stewart, *Documentary Survey*, pp. 110-5.

⁷¹ War between Spain and England was averted by the convention between the two powers signed on October 28, 1790.

of Europe was armed against them.⁷² Russia is still armed and at war with the porte, tho' in peace with Sweden and left to herself by the Emperor,⁷³ yet she appears formidable to her enemies and neighbours. As to the poor deluded Brabançons, they are now reduced to the last extremity, and the Emperor's troops in Brussels, Namur and Luxemburg.⁷⁴ It is to be hoped they will have an easy servitude until they are ripe for liberty. In the course of time their fanaticism may mould into good sense, when they may find another opportunity to assert their natural rights with a prospect of success. Having let slip the present, if their posterity will forgive them, I am sure the heirs of Leopold will. For my part I never will insult the *present* race by reproachs for their unhappy feigned pretensions of Liberty, yet I shall never pity *their* servitude, while I remember the means they have let slip of shaking off a foreign and oppressive yoke. But it must be confessed that the foreign yoke they are now likely to be subjugated to wear is likely to be much less oppressive, than the one the poor deluded people have been wasting their fortunes and shedding their blood to maintaine. However there is only the lives of the subjects to be regretted, as it was mostly the property of the Clergy that supported the revolution, which cannot be considered a loss to society, particularly in that country where so great a proportion were in their hands. I believe our friends there⁷⁵ have endeavored to stand neutre as foreigners and will escape the pillage of the victorious Royallists, yet they have been violent Patriotts in heart, but I fancy avoided an active part. Neddy⁷⁶ has not wrote me since the troops have been around Brussels, but all his letters before were sanguine, indeed quietly in surity of shaking off the obedience to the Emperor, always relying on the goodness of the cause and that in defense of Religion one brave and truly in-

⁷² The Spanish seized the British trading post at Vancouver and several British vessels in 1789. Britain armed and, since France was unable to support Spain, the Spanish capitulated in 1790 and restored British Columbia to England.

⁷³ Pressure from Great Britain, Holland and Prussia brought the Russo-Swedish war to an end. The Russians and the Austrians continued to war on the Turks, until Emperor Leopold's pact with Turkey, left Russia alone at war with the Porte, as the Turkish government was called.

⁷⁴ Emperor Leopold of Austria was engaged in putting down the Belgian insurrection that followed the Liege revolt in August 1789. The Belgians were divided into warring factions of Statists and Vonckists and fell an easy prey to the Austrian army in December 1790. de Meeus, *History*, pp. 240-4.

⁷⁵ I.e. the Maryland students at Bornhem.

⁷⁶ Edward Dominic Fenwick, the writer's nephew, then a student at Bornhem. He was a son of Colonel Ignatius and Sarah (Taney) Fenwick of Cherryfields, St. Mary's County and a grandson of Colonel Ignatius and Mary (Cole) Fenwick. He entered the Dominican order, was ordained to the priesthood and became first Roman Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., *The Right Reverend Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P.*, (Washington, 1920).

spired man was enough to face a hundred of those that opposed an ecclesiastical general, forgetting entirely that the Bon Dieu was some times on the strongest side. If you did not know the actual truth of my observations here, and was not acquainted with my manner of thinking on this subject, it would be necessary to apologize for my manner of thinking by giving a more detailed account of [the] facts, but it will suffice, my dear Kinsman, to repeat to you here that I believe myself in point of faith, as firm a R.[oman] C.[atholic] as any within the walls of Rome and subscribe with as pure a conscience to all the tenents of that faith as any man that ever wrote his name under the Bull of Uni Genitus.⁷⁷

....

[Bordeaux, July 10, 1791]

....

Since my last arrival in france,⁷⁸ I have not had the pleasure of a line from you. Be assured I shall always hear from you with grateful satisfaction. I easily conceive you plunged in deep in domestic occupations as a minister in politicks and that writing and correspondence are as remote from your engagements as agriculture to those of a merchant. It is a usefull lesson that to undertake many things at once, we risque the negligence of some one or all.

The situations of things in this Country and my own will perhaps be more intersting to you than inquiries about America, I will then give you a short and faithful scytch. You will be informed of the attempt the King of France made to leave the Kingdom, and his unmasked sentiments of the revolution.⁷⁹ Had he escaped the system might have been overturned, [and] the country delivered to the horrors of foreign and civil war, which it is now secured from without the success of some like unforeseen event. The double part which the King has acted has lost him and the aristocratic party in the Country an infinite number of partizans, and united the prevailing one, so that the country never has been more quiet and unanimous in any period in the course of the revolution than during the short absince and since the return of the King. What will be done concerning his royal prerogative is very doubtful. The King

⁷⁷ The Bull *Unigenitus*, issued by Pope Clement XI in 1713, condemned 101 propositions allegedly held by the Jansenists. It was unpopular with French Catholics at the time, but Fenwick's reasons for citing it are obscure.

⁷⁸ Fenwick was en route to Boston on June 3, 1790 intending to sail for Bordeaux from that port after a "long stay in America." Rowland, *Mason*, II, p. 327.

⁷⁹ The flight of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette to Varennes occurred in June 1791.

and Queen, altho' cordially detested, are held in perfect security and royal respect, tho' well guarded.

The paper money is 10 to 15 percent worse than specie. Exchange is 15 to 20 percent under par. Yet Labour and all produce and property not effected by the exchange retain their former prices. Labour (the great Smith says)⁸⁰ is the only true criterion to judge the value of the circulating medium; that admitted, the paper money has not suffered the least depreciation.

I am now very much occupied, tho' not so profitably as the [torn] of my business appears. Many very troublesome little commissions of Captains, &c., that brings but little profit and, without unremitted attention, displeasure; the planters' goods the same. I now have five vessels in port, four of which [are] to be despatched this week, one to St. Petersburg, one to Providence, one to Philadelphia, one to Virginia and one to the Cape Verde Islands. Four of them are northern vessels, which are mostly the fruits of my trip that way, therefore I am not indebted to the House for my expences in America and hope I shall not be reproached for levity, inconsideration and love lost, when out of the state of Maryland at least.⁸¹ I find now I must abandon all ideas of a second establishment. I find now that I have more to do here than I am capable of effecting or have funds to facilitate. If I can sell readily about 600 hhds Tob[acco] I have now on hand, I shall be at my ease, but I am wretchedly afraid Tobo. will fall before I can accomplish a sale. Two months ago it was very brisk and the Washington cargo would have command[ed] 38 to 40 [livres per hundredweight] two weeks before it arrived. Now the demand is calm, tho' the price has not fallen. Not an offer has been made for the cargo since it arrived. I foresee in 4 to 6 months Tobacco will be wretchedly low and dull, at least if the number of french Ships that have gone out return with cargos.

I have sold one half of the Washington to a french man. She has been negligently detained here, tho' not in my power to prevent it. I wish and indeed hope to sell all of her, as french dispatch and expences will not do for the American trade, where one freight on the voyage only is to be expected. I got 27,000 for her, the half 13,500, all charges paid it will leave for the half 10,000. She delivered here a freight of about 18,000 [livres]. This will establish our half of her at a cost not more than 5,000 [livres] or £ 200 Stg. now due us on ship's account, unless her charges in America last

⁸⁰ Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations*.

⁸¹ Apparently Fenwick's American visit caused some criticism as an unwarranted expenditure of the firm's money.

voyage should be much higher than we hope they were, as we have not accounts of them.

Wishing you and Mrs. Fenwick all the health and happiness this life affords—and all our friends and relations in America. I have only one prayer to repeat, that you will give me an opportunity if ever in your way to manifest the grateful and inviolable respect and attachment with which I shall remain, your Kinsman and Servant.

....

[Bordeaux, May 20, 1792]

....

Not a single line have I had the pleasure of receiving from you since my departure from America. I do not mean to reproach you for the same, as I attribute it to your friendship for me. I really would wish you always to use the same freedom and never sit down to write me when you had rather let it alone. I should be however very well pleased to hear how you have managed all the great folks that have been around on the mighty federal City, as well as those that that mighty City has made great, and what will be the issue of all this ideal magnificence and wealth, and if it is really likely to be realized.⁸² This you know I cannot get from any body but yourself, for I believe scarcely ever a Fenwick wrote either to gratify or amuse others or himself, at least that race of them that inhabits the western world.

I scarcely supposed Mr. Young would have consented so soon to the marriage of Mr. C—v—e.⁸³ Did he do it, pray, with a good grace and *de bon coeur*? He was less scrupulous than some folks I have to deal with on the same matter.⁸⁴ Mine, I hesitate not to say, are more vain than wise, less feeling than prudent, or they would never make an amiable Daughter wait, *très contre coeur*, to know whether she was to marry a Bourgeois or Lawyer, but in truth I suspect some other reason prevails, yet I am assured, there exists no other, however I hope a very little time now will enable me to put them to the proof, as the Certificate I asked for cannot now be long on its way.⁸⁵

⁸² The Commissioners began laying out the Federal City in 1791. The writer's cousin, George Fenwick, was one of the principal surveyors engaged in this work.

⁸³ Anne, daughter of Notley and Jane (Digges) Young of Notley Hall was married to Peter Casanave in 1791. Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 619.

⁸⁴ Joseph Fenwick was about to marry Elenoire Menoir of Bordeaux.

⁸⁵ Possibly a certificate of baptism. There is no extant reference to it elsewhere in this correspondence.

I have given as ample a detail of this Lady to Capn. Fenwick⁸⁶ particularly by this opportunity as I can at present. In a month or two I hope to give a much more satisfactory one and at the same time communicate the conditions of marriage, which are not yet as far advanced as the federal City, tho' I hope nearer completion. I do not yet know what promises will be exacted about residence in this Country. Madame, I am sure, would have no objection to going to Boston, as she has that amiability which will render her happy and contented everywhere and that good sense which enables her to know it. If times go bad here, I may perhaps engage her family to permit her to go to America. Her fortune there would be a very easy and Independent one, not opulent. Times here are still uncertain and it [is] impossible to foresee the end, or what will be the issue of this Revolution and war. If the King of Prussia should join earnestly the House of Austria to subjugate the spirit of liberty in France, it will be a serious contest for this Country and one which must involve her in perhaps civil war and ruin at least for some time, but Heaven knows how things will turn. I hope there will be some accomodation before things go to extremities, which they must do, in case of [a] league to crush the new System of Thinking in France. At present the Country is pretty quiet, except the quarter of Avignon. The former Conté vanisson is almost deserted and ruined, by the party spirit that has reigned there.⁸⁷

Exchange is now 16 to 17 d. per 3 livres with England and specie 50 to 60 percent better than paper. Notwithstanding, this paper money is extremely scarce and hard to be got. Credits dangerous and uncertain, and no doing business whatever without giving credit, on account of the scarcity of money. Confidence however yet prevails here, and we have not had any failures as yet in consequence of the devastations in St. Dominique⁸⁸ but there must infallibly be many before long, and once they begin there is no knowing where they will end and who will escape. The excessive high prices of W.[est] India produce has more than doubled the capitals of all those who had them on hand, and one barrel of Sugar has paid the debt of three. This has so far saved the traders to that quarter.

Your two hhds Tob[acco] by the Neptune are sold with the cargo at 48 percent. We owe you also upwards of 2,000 livres. How to remit it to you, I cannot tell, without a loss. However, when you

⁸⁶ Captain James Fenwick.

⁸⁷ Before the reorganization of France into *departements* in 1789, the district of Avignon formed the *Conte Venaissin*. It remained a center of disturbances during much of this period.

⁸⁸ Haiti was devastated by the slave revolt of 1791.

wish to touch the amount and leave it [to] me to send, I shall do it in the way most advantageous. Perhaps by the shipment of some imperishable articles it might be converted into specie. We have to divide a little of what we had shipped, some dry goods and Brandy, which in the present face of things, without some misfortune, must turn out very well and profitable, if the remittances are made as planned, yet the uncertainty of the Exchange renders all operations hazardous of that nature for us.

One victory would rise the exchange 10 to 20 percent in a week. For altho' this money here is paper, its representative is more solid and real than the mines of Peru, while the government exists and the order of things is not changed here, but there is the danger, a civil war and a new administration might destroy all the former system, become bankrupts themselves, make everybody else so, and begin the world anew.

....

[*Bordeaux, 10 fremaire Year 2, (November 30, 1793).*]

....

The friendly sentiments toward me contained in your letter of the 14 June past by the Maryland gave real pleasure, indeed nothing could have been more gratifying to my feelings, but the feeling relation of your state of health checked too soon the enjoyment arising from the assurance of your continued interest in my welfare. I sincerely hope, if there is anything real in your complaint that the waters you purposed visiting would prove salutary, and if imaginary only, the variety of the voyage, society of the Springs and absence from occupation or anxiety would have the same effect. Thus I am able to flatter myself with the pleasing idea of your perfect recovery. I never desired more to be in America, than on the receipt of your letter. Being now in the age of vanity (from 20 to 30) I thought perhaps I could contribute to dissipate any gloomy ideas, if you was really low spirited, and at the same time by so doing procure a real happiness to myself, for I never reflect on the tête à tête moments I have passed with you, without being convinced I never better employed or passed more happier hours in my life, and a renewal of them is one of the pleasing motives which engage me to look up to the day of my return to America with pleasure and anxiety, and if I thought I could be in any manner useful to you, I would hasten my return, which I do not think is distant, as Times are too precarious to think of remaining long here.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ The Reign of Terror began in September, 1793.

Respecting my reflections on the religious sects,⁹⁰ I will own that I perhaps made too free. When I seriously reflect on the periods of life, I apprehend at a more advanced age I may be much more scrupulous and tenacious of my reflections. I already begin to follow your track and revert back to the levity of my former opinions. I also find that as you observe that you would in some measure be responsible for any misfortune that may follow my present career, as being the person that pushed me into the world, the reflection of compromising a generous friend, ought to be a motive of restraint in an honest heart. This added to your reflections on the years of solidity, with some little more experience, aided by the hourly examples before my eyes, of the uncertainty of life as well as the glory of the world, have put a stop to my criticisms on the choice of life of even those who seclude themselves from society. A few days ago I visited the monuments of curiosity at Paris with a man of learning. We went into the Hotel of the Clergy, where all the business of that order of people in France were formerly transacted. The apartments were very brilliant and more richly ornamented than any I had ever seen before. They were filled with the Lackeys and door waiters (of the Minister of foreign affairs who now occupies the Hotel) all dressed *a la sans culotte*.⁹¹ Being introduced into such apartments and seeing such people around me, I was struck with indiffinate wonder. My companion cried out, *sic transit gloria mundi*. It made such an impression on me that ever since I can scarcely believe what I really have is my own.

I lately made a trip to London of about three months and returned via Paris. I had there an opportunity of seeing and hearing the coffee House opinions of the two great capitals, and from what I can conclude the conquest of France will be a fatal undertaking to the European nations. This country will only be vulnerable from the want of grain and whether there is a real scarcity, or whether the combined powers can produce one, or not, is a question I am unable [to] decide.

You have your account within with an order on M.[ason] & F.[enwick] for the amount in specie. The exchange ran out at the rates it prevailed at the time of your credits were entered, with interest up to this day, and if acquitted by a Bill may be continued until the day of payment.

⁹⁰ Possibly a reference to his letter of December 8, 1790, but more probably to conversations with Captain Fenwick.

⁹¹ The *Sans-Culottes* were radicals drawn from the poorer classes, so called from their workingman's clothes.

Mrs. Fenwick thanks you for your interest for us, and expresses a reciprocal one for you and your Lady. She is just recovering from a laying in of a son⁹² who is born in a stormy time but as he announces health and strength the more he is exposed, the better he will be able to weather the evening of Life.

There has been an em[bargo] near 4 months in this river only.⁹³ Commerce is in a deadly calme here. No operations of any nature going forward. The last exchange was made I believe at 10 or 12 rising, but specie is plenty and at par. Strange as this may appear, it is true and paper money very scarce.

....

[Bordeaux, August 20, 1795]

....

I heard with real pain your late indisposition and bad health, tho' I sincerely hope you are now recovered and enjoy that ease and good health I so ardently wish you. Perhaps a sea trip would be useful to you—the west Indies, Lisbon or France. The Waters of the Garonne, you know, is a perfect antidote to melancholy, as there never was an instance of a Gascon's wanting vivacity, or a man who inhabits its clime We are now civilly and religiously free here and really good societies for all tempers and ages that speak english and french or one of those languages, and you can easily imagine how earnestly I should desire to come forward to procure you all the comforts of Life within my reach.

We are likely to have a general peace on the Continent and perhaps this ensuing winter will bring about a maritime one. Provisions are now plenty here and fully as cheap as with you. Internal tranquility, except in the quarter of the Vendée which is again agitated and threatened with civil discord.⁹⁴

I can't say how peace will find my pecuniary affairs. The fate of the war has and will have a great effect on them. I have much depending in the British Admiralty, which is next to lost. Fortune is capricious. However I don't ambition to be rich and I think money is the worst of all inheritance to leave to male children. I have now a Son and Daughter, the latter two months and the former two years old, and all my family enjoy good health. I am never sick or out of spirits myself, but my frame is weak and will not last long. The

⁹² Columbus Fenwick, the Consul's only son.

⁹³ More than 80 American vessels were detained at Bordeaux by the embargo there in 1793. It was finally lifted through Joseph Fenwick's efforts. Monroe, *A View*, pp. lx and 359.

⁹⁴ The revolt in La Vendee in 1793 continued as a guerrilla war between the Royalist Chouans and the Republican troops.

climate of America, at least if the boil which threatened me, and killed most of our family, would have destroyed my constitution 'ere this perhaps, and since in France I have never had occasion for a puke.

I hear the treaty mr. Jay proposed is likely [to] throw America into a ferment unless the president should calm the minds by rejecting it. Your prosperity and wealth rises too rapidly to be moral and durable. The Stock Jobbers and land speculators have had a fine harvest with you, and it seems from your press the agricultures have now equally a good one. Here the Society is going exactly the opposite way to that of America. The wealthy land holders, stockholders and capitall merchants are falling daily; a few gamblers gaining, but the great mass of Society losing at least in opulence.

I beg you will mention me and present my sincere esteem to Mrs. Fenwick and all her and our friends. I hear of their happiness with great pleasure and ardently wish for the moment when I can participate in person with them.

....

A QUARTER-CENTURY OF GROWTH AT THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By HAROLD R. MANAKEE*

LATE in 1964 and early in 1965 the Maryland Historical Society—a privately supported non-profit educational institution that has served its membership and the community for 120 years—passed two important milestones. The first occurred on December 21, 1964, when actual construction of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building began. The second notable event occurred on February 8, 1965, when The Honorable George L. Radcliffe—57 years a member of the Society, 53 years an officer, and 26 years its president—retired from office to become chairman of the Council.

The two closely occurring events are felt to justify the presentation of a brief resumé of the early history of the Society, followed by a more intense scrutiny of its last quarter-century. Such a report, it is hoped, will point up the scope of the Society's ever-broadening services, focus attention on trends brought about by changing conditions, and, therefore, be of assistance to the incoming administration and to the general membership.

RESUME 1844-1937

On October 23, 1835, a prominent Baltimore lawyer, John H. B. Latrobe, proposed the formation of an historical society in Maryland. His suggestion lay dormant until January 27, 1844, when 28 outstanding Baltimoreans met to form such a group. A constitution and by-laws were adopted on February 1, and on March 8 the Governor of Maryland signed an act of

* For the compilation of this report, prepared at the request of the retiring president of the Society, I am grateful to my wife, Beta Kaessmann Manakee, and to various members of the staff who have assisted her. Though I have done little more than edit her final draft, the responsibility for its accuracy is mine. The main sources of information have been the minutes of meetings, the accession files, the annual reports and financial statements of the Society. H.R.M.

incorporation. Meetings were held in the rooms of the Maryland Colonization Society in the Post Office Building, then located at what is now the northeast corner of Fayette Street and Guilford Avenue. Eventually, John H. B. Latrobe, the prime mover in the organization of the Society, was to become its third president, and was to serve for 20 years in that capacity.

Immediately the Society began collecting a library of books and manuscripts pertaining to Maryland history, a museum of historical objects and a gallery of art works. Increasing membership and collections soon made necessary the rental of a large room adjoining the Colonization Society headquarters, and there the new-born organization met for the next four years.

Without delay the Society also began to print in brochure form many of the addresses delivered before its membership meetings, publishing 31 such pamphlets between 1844 and 1867. In time these came to be known as "Pre-Fund Publications", since they preceded George Peabody's presentation of a publication fund in 1866. That gift of \$20,000 was the first large contribution to the Society, half of the income being allocated to publications and half to the general endowment.* As a result of this contribution, from 1867 to 1901 the Society issued 37 "Fund Publications" relating to Maryland and to United States history.

In 1846, only two years after its founding, the Society began serving as a repository for certain important original public records of the colony and state of Maryland and, as a matter of fact, saved many of the priceless papers from destruction. It continued to preserve and restore the documents until they were transferred to the Hall of Records when, in 1934, it was established at Annapolis.

During 1848 the Society moved its headquarters to the newly completed Athenaeum Building, then at the northwest corner of Saratoga and St. Paul Streets, sharing both ownership and occupancy of the structure with the Baltimore Library Company, and renting space to the Mercantile Library Association. By agreement, in the event that either of the two owners should cease operation, the surviving institution was to inherit the other's interests. Therefore, when the Library Company ended

* For a chart of additions to the endowment fund see p. 89.

activities in 1852, its books and partial ownership of the building were transferred to the Society. The rich collection of the Baltimore Library Company, which had been established in 1796, greatly enhanced the Society's collection, and the sale of the Athenaeum in 1924 provided a sorely needed addition to its endowment fund, all proceeds from the sale going to it.

For many years to come, however, the Society was to have no funds for the purchase of books or manuscripts and few for the employment of an experienced staff. A part-time and volunteer librarian gave what hours and effort he could to the direction of the library, with his service augmented by a few clerical workers.

In 1882 the General Assembly of Maryland enacted the legislation and appropriated funds for the editing and publication of the *Archives of Maryland* under the Society's auspices. The 70th volume is now on the press and, though the project continues, the more important records have been published. The consistent skill and thoroughness with which this work has been accomplished by a succession of distinguished editors, the latest of whom, Miss Elizabeth Merritt, has just retired after 22 years of service, have done much to establish the Society's reputation for scholarship.

Through gifts of members and other friends the collections continued to grow. From time to time, whenever items which the Society deemed vital to its holdings were offered for private or public sale, they usually were purchased through the generous contributions of members. In 1888, for instance, the initiative and financial assistance of Mendes Cohen and others enabled the Society to purchase in England an extensive and vitally significant collection of papers of the Calvert family, proprietors of Maryland for nearly 150 years. Highly important purchases continue to be made in this manner.

In March, 1906, the Society began publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a scholarly quarterly, made possible only by the Peabody fund plus the guaranty of certain members. Since then, especially during war or depression years, the continuance of the *Magazine* occasionally has been questioned, but its publication has not been interrupted. Now well established in its field, it soon will be available in microfilm form.

An auspicious turning point in the history of the institution came in 1916 with the announcement by Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser of her constructive plan to purchase for the Society the former residence, at 201 West Monument Street, of Enoch Pratt, Baltimore philanthropist, as a memorial to her late husband. At the donor's expense the house was remodeled for museum use, and a fire-resistant art gallery and library wing was added to the south and west. The building was formally dedicated and presented on February 18, 1919.

Not only did this gift afford beautiful and commodious quarters for the cramped collections and activities of the Society, but the move from the Athenaeum Building provided crucially needed income, first through rentals and finally through the sale of the property in 1924 for \$130,000, the largest amount, until that time, to be added to the endowment fund. The Keyser gift, therefore, was much more significant and creative than the generous presentation of a new headquarters building. It was the prime factor in maintaining services through trying financial periods.

Once installed in the Keyser Memorial Building, the Society, for the first time, could exhibit its holdings extensively. Far more effectively than words, this brought to the attention of members and visitors the wisdom of placing in the safe-keeping of the Society family documents, china, silver, paintings, furniture and other items. The already substantial flow of gifts increased noticeably, and, happily, continues to the present day.

An outstanding example of this trend was the gift in 1922 from Mrs. Charles J. Bonaparte (Ellen Channing Day), herself not a native Marylander, but the widow of Charles J. Bonaparte, grandson of Elizabeth ("Betsy") Patterson and Jerome Bonaparte. The gift, consisting of Patterson-Bonaparte furniture, portraits, clothing, jewelry, books, and a collection of varied memorabilia, included many personal possessions of Betsy Patterson. In the same year the Bonaparte Room was opened.

Other Patterson-Bonaparte gifts were added later, including those from Mrs. Andrew Robeson (Laura Patterson Swan) of Bonaparte china in 1947, and of family portraits, silver and jewelry in 1959.

In 1920 the General Assembly of Maryland, through Mr.

George L. Radcliffe, then the Society's recording secretary, established a War Records Commission to compile the historical record of Maryland's role in World War I. The commission rented quarters in the Society's building from 1919 until its work was completed in 1933, when its three-volume *Maryland in the World War, 1917-1919*, was published. The rental income received from the commission was highly beneficial during a difficult financial period.

During these earlier years the Society undoubtedly was performing a definite service with a definite purpose, but that service was limited and, with few exceptions, was carried forward in a somewhat staid and stately manner. The scope of its interests was indicated by its eight standing committees: the Trustees of the Athenaeum (the building committee of the Keyser Memorial Building), the Committees on the Gallery, Library, Finance, Publications, Membership, Genealogy and Heraldry, and Addresses and Literary Entertainment. With later additions, these committees still stand, except for the Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry which was discontinued in 1937.

While news of the Society seldom stirred the public press beyond routine notices, on occasion the community was jolted to attention by the visit of a guest speaker of renown. One such occasion that attained headline status was the dinner meeting of April 6, 1850. That evening found two masters of the English language responding to toasts—Daniel Webster, orator and statesman, and Sir Henry Bulwer Lytton, ambassador from the Court of St. James to many important posts during a long career, a man whose rapier wit and chiseled phrase were unsurpassed. Other luminaries appeared before the membership from time to time, one such occurrence coming in 1922 when Georges Clemenceau, the "Tiger of France", then but two years out of the premiership, made his only public appearance in Baltimore to address the membership and guests.*

* The family of the late H. Crawford Black made his well-staffed home available for housing the distinguished guest. To the consternation of those making arrangements, it was learned that the great man demanded hot onion soup served to him in his room at exactly "two hours past midnight". The problem to be faced was not only that of finding a chef who could produce flawless French onion soup, but also that of finding one willing to prepare it at such an hour—not on one morning alone, but on the several mornings of the "Tiger's" visit. The Society came through with flying colors and Franco-American relations did not suffer.

Within this period, although the holdings of the Society were important, diversified and growing, the widening of its service to many and varied segments of the community was still to come.

1938-1942*

1938	<i>Membership:</i>	1,163	<i>Gifts to library:</i>	465 items
	<i>Library patrons:</i>	1,600 (est.)		133 lots of mss.
	<i>Staff:</i>	6	<i>Gifts to gallery:</i>	147 items
	<i>Standing committees:</i>	7		
	<i>Gifts to endowment fund for the period:</i> \$9,303.			

In February, 1938, when Senator Radcliffe, then senior vice-president, became president, the Society's staff still was headed by a part-time librarian. Funds had remained so low as to preclude the appropriation of an annual sum for the purchase of library items, yet many members continued to present valuable books and manuscript collections.

In 1939 James W. Foster became editor of the *Magazine*. The Ruckle painting of the Battle of North Point was presented by Miss Edith F. Neff of Cincinnati, Ohio, an acquisition that was especially fortunate since, in 1879, the Society had received as a gift of J. Henry Stickney, the same artist's painting of the Assembly of the Troops Before the Battle of Baltimore. The two paintings are important portrayals of phases of the British attack on Baltimore in 1814.

Also received in 1939 was the Carter bequest, including not only an addition to the endowment fund, but also a collection of glass, silver, furniture, portraits and other items, constituting one of the most valuable and extensive gifts received up to that time. The Carter-Lehr Room was opened in 1940.

In 1938, President Radcliffe, then also a United States Senator from Maryland, initiated a series of evening meetings which brought to the Society as speakers many eminent scholars, diplomats, cabinet members, military leaders, members of the Congress and other public officials. These outstanding figures

* In reporting the history of the Society from 1938 forward, the years have been grouped in periods of five years, except for the last which covers seven. To give a picture of growth, a brief statistical table is presented at the beginning of the discussion of each period. Though there are a number of part-time employees, the personnel figures shown represent their equivalent in full-time. More detailed statistics as to staff are presented in a graph appended to this report.

addressed the membership on topics of current interest, as well as on specific aspects of national and local history. Large numbers of the general public attended the meetings, taxing the capacity of the Society's seating space. The program, which continued until after the end of World War II, has been recognized as outstanding on a national scale.*

In 1941 several important groups of manuscripts were presented, including the Anna Ella Carroll papers, a collection which remains in frequent demand by scholars. The voluminous Dielman Collection of Baltimore-published Sheet Music also was received.

Another outstanding gift in 1941, this one to the gallery, was that of Mrs. W. Duncan McKim, consisting of portraits, miniatures, daguerrotypes and other likenesses of members of the McKim and related families. Also included were examples of jewelry and children's silverware. Subsequent gifts have come from Mrs. McKim and other members of the family.

Of vital importance in this period, however, was President Radcliffe's insistence that a trained and enthusiastic director was required to implement further the services of the Society on a full-time basis. Realization came in 1942 with the fortunate appointment as the Society's first director of James W. Foster, former associate head of the Maryland Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

1943-1947

1943	<i>Membership:</i>	1,855	<i>Gifts to library:</i>	4,000 items
	<i>Library patrons:</i>	900 (est.)	<i>Gifts to gallery:</i>	230 items
	<i>Staff:</i>	7		
	<i>Standing committees:</i>	7		
	<i>Gifts to endowment fund for the period:</i> \$17,500.			

The following five-year period saw many important evidences of growth. A quarterly news bulletin, titled *Maryland History Notes*, was begun to inform the members of the activities and acquisitions of the Society. In 1943 several outstanding manuscript collections were received: over 1,700 items in the Howard papers; approximately 2,000 items in the Ridgely papers; 20 additional volumes from the Confederate Soldiers' Home in

* For an analysis of these and other addresses as to subject see p. 91.

Pikesville; 63 letters in the Graves collection, largely, but not exclusively, related to the Civil War. The Jefferson banquet table from Emilie McKim Reed and other Jefferson items were received, and a Thomas Jefferson exhibit was held.

Under the chairmanship of John H. Scarff, the gallery committee and the staff regrouped the furnishings of the various exhibition rooms of the Pratt mansion as authentic period rooms, thus marking the beginning of a transition from miscellaneous display to the organized exhibition of gallery and museum holdings. During this period the number of visitors viewing the Society's collections on tours guided by members of the staff began to increase steadily.*

The initiation of authentic period rooms and of organized exhibitions resulted in increasing notice of the Society's activities by the press. At first one of the many duties of the director, the handling of such publicity later was assigned to Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland.

The 1944 program marking the 100th anniversary of the Society was auspicious, with the opening of the restored handsome double parlor in the Pratt mansion, and The Honorables Samuel K. Dennis and Archibald McLeish making the main addresses to a well attended commemorative meeting held in the Peabody auditorium.

Inaugurated by the director in 1944, a series of afternoon lectures on arts and crafts brought, and have continued to bring, numerous specialists to address meetings of members. Concurrent with the lectures, collections in the fields under discussion usually have been exhibited, a procedure that has served to inform members and the general public of the types of materials owned and welcomed by the Society. Many gifts have resulted.

Among the important acquisitions in 1944 was the 3,300-item collection of Shriver papers, as well as additions to the Ridgely holdings. Also received was the invaluable Dielman Index of Maryland Biography, then numbering about 150,000 entries, but now totaling more than 250,000 names.

On March 27, 1945, The Honorable Harry S. Truman, then

* For more detailed information on exhibits see p. 86, and for a tabulation of visitors to the Society see p. 92.

Vice-President of the United States, addressed the Society at its Maryland Day meeting. The subject of his address, suggested by Mr. Truman himself, was "Maryland and Tolerance." An audience of more than 350 heard one of the last speeches delivered by him as Vice-President, since sixteen days later he assumed the office of President of the United States. His address, which was published in the June issue of the *Magazine*, was one of the first appearances in print of a non-governmental speech by the nation's new President.

In 1945, again through the efforts of President Radcliffe, the General Assembly of Maryland directed the establishment of an organization to preserve, collect and publish data relative to Maryland's contributions to World War II, and the Society was authorized to undertake the project with State funds.*

Beginning in 1946, cooperation with the Baltimore Public Schools increasingly was emphasized, and visits by groups of students were encouraged.†

In the same year the Latrobe family holdings were augmented heavily by Mr. Latrobe Cogswell's presentation of a collection of water colors and sketches by John H. B. Latrobe, some Benjamin H. Latrobe water colors, and John H. B. Latrobe's original tin model of his famous stove, as well as other interesting items. This acquisition brought the Latrobe holdings to impressive size and quality.

A notable addition of 1947 was the extensive Hayward Biographical Index of Marriages and Deaths in Baltimore (1773-1840) which has since been combined with the previously mentioned Dielman Index.

In the same year the 2,837 membership was analyzed as to residence, with the following results: Baltimore, 1,685; Maryland counties, 653; District of Columbia, 99; New York 84; Pennsylvania, 71; Virginia, 31; New Jersey, 25; California, 20; Delaware, 19; Ohio and Illinois, 18 each; Massachusetts, 16; plus scattered numbers in other states and nations. This analysis was highly illustrative of the steadily increasing interest in the Society, an interest which has grown since that date.‡

* For details of the work of the Society's World War II Records Division, see p. 81.

† For a fuller discussion of the Society's work with schools see p. 80.

‡ For a tabulation of membership, 1938 to 1964 see p. 92.

In 1946, a special committee revised the constitution and by-laws to eliminate "associate memberships", create "affiliated memberships" and "affiliated societies", to place the election of new members in the hands of the Council instead of the general meetings, and to create committees on education, on war records, and on relations with other societies; it also placed the fixing of annual dues in the hands of the Council and reduced the business to be transacted at general meetings. The revised constitution and by-laws were formally adopted at the February 10, 1947, meeting.

1948-1952

1948	<i>Membership:</i>	2,926	<i>Gifts to library:</i>	2,500 items
	<i>Library patrons:</i>	850 (est.)	<i>Gifts to gallery:</i>	675 items
	<i>Staff:</i>	10½		
	<i>Standing committees:</i>	10		
	<i>Gifts to endowment fund for the period:</i> \$222,654			

The most notable gift in the next five-year period was the epoch-making legacy of approximately \$750,000 from William S. Thomas whose death occurred December 2, 1947. These funds, subject to the contingent life tenancy of his brother John L. Thomas, were to be used for the erection and maintenance of a Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building.

Faced with the necessity of acquiring the land necessary for the proposed building and concerned about the possibility of speculators entering the picture, the president, in 1949, quietly brought about the purchase of 209 and 211 West Monument Street, largely through the public-spirited cooperation of Dr. Adolph Picker, then owner of the properties.

Apart from the Thomas bequest, contributions to the endowment fund for this five-year period included the bequests of Elise Agnus Daingerfield in 1949 of \$154,248, and of Elizabeth S. M. Wild in 1950 of \$63,906. Among other gifts were: 14 pieces of Amelung glass; the 1,200-item Winans manuscript collection; the 450-item Ridgely-Pue-Penniman-Key manuscripts; 20 Riggs family portraits; the Volck collection of 200 items; the 100,000-entry Index to Historical Maryland Buildings from Mrs. Eleanor P. Passano; the collection of more than 60 early kitchen items, the gift of Dr. and Mrs. James Bordley,

Jr.; the 509 John M. Glenn letters (later augmented); the Carroll-Harper and the Carroll-MacTavish papers; and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad founding papers (greatly augmented later). From the standpoint of gifts received, this period was highly significant.

In August, 1948, Dr. Harry Amman was appointed librarian and editor of the *Magazine*, partially freeing Mr. Foster of his duties as director, librarian and *Magazine* editor. Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland was appointed as gallery assistant in June, 1948.

In 1950 a Maritime Division was established, a maritime committee was named, with Mr. George H. Pouder as chairman, and the maritime exhibit rooms were opened.

In 1951, Mr. Harold R. Manakee, director of the World War II Records Division of the Society, was appointed business manager and also was placed in charge of work with schools, each position on a part-time basis, since the War Records Division still required much of his time. During this year the entire staff became eligible for the social security program.

In 1952 Mrs. Thomas Courtney Jenkins (Mae McShane) presented to the Society ten portraits of members of the Key family, including one of Francis Scott Key. In addition, she provided a fund for the renovation of a room on the second floor of the Pratt mansion as a memorial to her husband's mother, Mrs. George C. Jenkins (Mary Catherine Key). The room was opened later in the year.

1953-1957

1953	<i>Membership:</i>	3,290	<i>Gifts to library:</i>	2,000 items
	<i>Library patrons:</i>	800 (est.)	<i>Gifts to gallery:</i>	815 items
	<i>Staff:</i>	13½		
	<i>Standing committees:</i>	11		
	<i>Gifts to endowment fund for the period:</i>	\$152,282		

The following five-year period was marked, in November, 1953, by the purchase of 213 West Monument Street, for the purpose of future expansion. Again, a civic-minded property owner, in this instance Mr. Gaither Scott, was highly cooperative.

However, the period was made especially memorable by the purchase for the Society of Francis Scott Key's original manu-

script of *The Star-Spangled Banner* from the Walters Art Gallery in June, 1953, by Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins in memory of her husband's mother, Mrs. George C. Jenkins, a cousin of Francis Scott Key. With the object of keeping the precious manuscript in Baltimore where it was written, the Walters generously held the purchase price to \$26,400, the sum which that institution had paid for the document nearly 20 years previously at a New York auction. Since institutions outside of Baltimore had offered much more for the manuscript, the Society and Baltimoreans generally are deeply grateful to the Walters Gallery.

In addition to purchasing the manuscript, Mrs. Jenkins provided for the construction of a handsome marble niche to preserve and display the manuscript securely and attractively. An historic occasion was the unveiling of the niche and its formal presentation by Mrs. Jenkins on September 14, 1954. Because of the nationwide interest in Key's original manuscript, its display has been a major factor in attracting tourists to the Society.

Another valuable addition came in 1955 with the gift of a superb French Renaissance tapestry from the Hearst Foundation.

In 1956 the Baltimore *Sunpapers* generously purchased and presented the unique Marion V. Brewington Collection of 319 maritime items related to the Chesapeake Bay and consisting of models, half-models, trail boards and ship carpenter-, sailmaker- and caulker-tools and gear. In such Chesapeake Bay items the collection has no peer.

Also during this period cooperation with the Baltimore and Maryland schools was strengthened, as reflected in the increased number of conducted tours for pupils. Of the 14,121 annual visitors to the Society in 1957, for instance, 6,112 were students touring its collections in groups of 35-40. The lecture tours, each approximately of an hour's duration, were oriented to be true learning experiences. Obviously the staff alone could not have carried this increased work load, but invaluable help from volunteer docents, most of them members of the Baltimore Junior League, made possible the continuance of the rapidly growing program.

Three bequests of 1956 were outstanding: from A. Morris

Tyson, \$119,713 (to be augmented later); from Harry C. Black, \$66,960; and from Josephine Cushing Morris, \$28,937.

Another significant and generous bequest, announced on January 20, 1957, was that of Richard Bennett Darnall, prominent attorney and citizen of Maryland, and member of the Society since 1933. Subject to the life interest of Mrs. Darnall, half of his estate was left to the Society for the foundation of a Darnall Young People's Museum of Maryland History. The potentialities of this remarkably far-sighted bequest call for the Society's best planning, since the establishment of such a museum will constitute a major advance in the development of the school cooperation program which, basically, is concerned with training for good citizenship.

In the same year another step in providing for the future expansion of the Society, and in protecting its real estate holdings against commercial encroachment, was the purchase of the parking lot at 614-616 Park Avenue, immediately south of the Keyser Memorial Building. Until such time as the land is required for expansion it will provide a source of income.

Throughout the 1950s the steady growth in the overall operation of the Society necessitated some expansion of the staff. In 1945 the position of secretary to the director had been established, a post now ably filled by Miss Alice P. Kriete, and in 1952 the librarian gained a secretary, now the capable Mr. Ronald Keuchen. In the same year the position of bookkeeper, now efficiently filled by Mrs. Lucille Bulin, was established. Four years later a receptionist-switchboard operator became necessary, and currently those duties are shared by Miss Madeleine Wells and Mrs. Davie Harrell. The latter gives extra time on the occasion of mailings to the membership. In 1957, the important position of registrar was established, and since that date Mrs. Virginia Swarm ably has filled the post.

The Society found it necessary to increase dues in 1957—the first increase since its founding in 1844. Single membership increased from \$5 to \$8, while joint membership (two in the same family) was raised to \$12; other membership categories also increased.

Also in 1957 a publication revolving fund was established. Its value to the Society is explained in more detail on page 79.

1958-1964

	1958	1964
<i>Membership:</i>	3,091	3,354
<i>Library patrons:</i>	2,900 (est.)	3,057 (actual count)
<i>Total visitors to Society:</i>	14,280 (actual count)	20,030 (actual count)
<i>Staff:</i>	12½	16½
<i>Gifts to library:</i>	2,000 items 200 lots of mss.	484 lots of mss. and books
<i>Gifts to gallery and museum:</i>	791 items	1,680 items 167 maritime col- lection items
<i>Standing committees:</i>	12	15
<i>Gifts to endowment fund for the period:</i>	\$594,133	

The 1958-1964 period saw further growth and development. The number of library users increased steadily and total visitors—including library patrons and those on guided tours, as well as specialists wishing to study various museum and gallery holdings—increased almost 41%.*

Looking toward the planning of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building as provided under the will of William S. Thomas, the Society, in April, 1958, retained the services of the architectural firm of Meyer and Ayers (now Meyer, Ayers and Saint). Since all of the necessary properties on Monument Street were not then available, and their acquisition in the future was uncertain, comparative studies were made as to the possibility of building on the 614-616 Park Avenue site, or on the site of the Monument Street properties then owned by the Society. Alternate plans were drawn and opinions of recognized experts in the museum and library fields were sought.

In 1958 the Women's Committee was established, with Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser, II, as chairman, and in the following year the Special Projects Committee was formed, with Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins as chairman, thus bringing the number of standing advisory committees to 13. The first-named group, now headed by Mrs. W. Wallace Symington, Jr., aids the staff in housekeeping matters, in mounting exhibitions, in giving outside talks, and in serving as hostesses on auspicious occasions, as well as by providing important assistance to the staff in many

* For more detailed statistics on attendance see p. 92.

routine procedures. The Special Projects group, largely consisting of prominent young men, undertakes occasional special assignments and serves as a source of appointment to the Society's long-established committees. To date those who have been transferred from this to other standing committees are: Messrs. Howard Baetjer, II; Pleasonton L. Conquest, III; William V. Elder, III; Edward G. Howard; George M. Radcliffe; Truman T. Seamans; and Robert L. Weinberg.

An important acquisition in 1958 was *The J. Hall Pleasants Studies in Maryland Painting*, which came to the Society as the gift of the compiler's widow. Containing about 4,000 photographs of paintings, most of them portraits of Marylanders, as well as extensive notes on each, the file is an invaluable reference source frequently consulted by the staff and visiting scholars. Dr. Pleasants who, over a period of years, prepared the file in close cooperation with the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, had long served the Society as chairman of the Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry, as editor of the *Archives of Maryland*, and as vice president.

Two outstanding events occurred in 1960. First, the bequest of Elizabeth Chew Williams, long-time chairman of the Membership Committee and member of the Committee on Maryland History in the Schools, added the sum of \$201,000 (later augmented) to the endowment fund.

Second was the purchase of the papers of Benjamin H. Latrobe, one of this country's earliest and most prominent architects. For this purpose substantial funds were raised through the interest and generosity of members and other friends, particularly Mr. Donaldson Brown of Port Deposit and the A. S. Abell Foundation of the *Sunpapers* of Baltimore. The addition of these papers to the already rich Latrobe collection brought those holdings to an extraordinarily high point. A year later a second and lesser purchase of Latrobe items, again through the contributions of friends, resulted in by far the largest Latrobe collection in existence. Providing a remarkable view of American life from 1796 to 1820, through hundreds of letters, water color and black-and-white sketches, and almost daily journal entries for over 20 years, the collection is ranked high by scholars among the unpublished papers of important figures in the early

history of the nation. Funds for the publication of this outstanding collection are being sought.

Among the many manuscript collections received during the 1958-1964 period were the papers of William Wirt, attorney general of the United States, 1817-1829. The letters, journals and other papers total over 50,000 items.

In 1960 the Society took its first step in an inevitable procedure, since expanded, when, largely through the generosity of Mr. Jacob Blaustein, it replaced its 1871-1902 run of the Baltimore *American* with microfilm.

Still looking toward expansion and to protection against commercial encroachment, during 1961 the Society bought in one transaction the properties at 217, 221, 223 and 225 West Monument Street. This purchase made complete its real estate holdings on the south side of the 200 block of West Monument Street, except for the property at the southeast corner of Howard and Monument Streets. All but one of the buildings acquired contained tenants, some of whom held leases. The rentals provided helpful income, though prior to their purchase, most of the buildings had reached such a stage of depreciation that repair and upkeep charges substantially decreased the net return.

Meanwhile, the Society's collections had grown to such an extent that space was distressingly inadequate, and had it not been for the availability of some empty apartments in the Monument Street buildings the expenditure for rented storage would have become burdensome.

In June, 1961, John L. Thomas, brother of the late William S. Thomas, died. He also named the Society as his chief beneficiary, in the amount of over \$400,000. That legacy, added to the estate given by his brother, which had grown through investment, totaled slightly over \$3,000,000 by the time that the contract was let for the erection of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building.

Meanwhile, the final decision to build on Monument Street brought minor criticism from some sources, mainly due to the necessary demolition of eight houses on that site, buildings which were in no sense unique and most of which, over a long period, had been wretchedly neglected by previous owners.

However, the entire matter was carefully considered by the Society's Council, its building committee, and the consultants who had been asked to aid in planning the proposed Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. Their consensus was that the aesthetic and historic value of the houses was negligible, that a building of the type proposed would help to restore the area to its former grace and charm, and would establish a firm, pleasing and permanent "anchor" to the west of historic Mount Vernon Place. Therefore, in spite of unsuccessful efforts to delay progress by legal action, plans went forward for the erection of a building in harmony with the neighborhood.

Through the years the Society had strained its finances to increase staff salaries, but they still were not sufficient to hold some of its members in face of more attractive offers from other institutions, and the rate of turnover in some positions was high. For example, Dr. Harry Amman, who had served as librarian and editor of the *Magazine* since August, 1949, resigned a year later to accept a position on the faculty of the University of Southern Illinois. In the same month he was succeeded by Mr. Fred Shelley who came to the Society from the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. After serving for five years, Mr. Shelley resigned in September, 1955, to accept the librarianship of the New Jersey Historical Society, with Dr. Frank Haber succeeding him. Upon the resignation in 1958 of the last-named to join the faculty of the University of Florida, he was succeeded by Mr. John D. Kilbourne, former director of the York County, Pennsylvania, Historical Society, as librarian, and by Dr. Richard Walsh of the Georgetown University history faculty, as editor of the *Magazine*, a division of duties indicative of the increasing demands on the librarian. Also in 1958 Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins was appointed public relations officer and assistant editor of the *Magazine*. In the following year Mr. Manakee was named assistant director. A generous retirement program for the staff became effective in April, 1960, largely through the efforts of Mr. G. Ross Veazey, who, as the then chairman of the Library Committee, was a member of the Council.

Numerically the staff continued to be insufficient to make steady and substantial inroads on the backlog of classifying and indexing and the many other details of proper library and mu-

seum housekeeping. The situation still exists. Daily library service to the members and public requires, in addition to answering simple inquiries, a growing amount of extensive reference work. Of the daily average of 30 to 35 such queries, approximately two-thirds necessitate some research. In addition, inquiries by mail and telephone steadily mount. For 1963, a year typical of the previous five, from the library alone 2,578 replies to mail inquiries were sent out, more than 90 percent of which required substantial reference work. Yet during the same year the staff also served 3,579 visiting patrons, and in spite of its small size, accomplished a substantial volume of necessary "behind-the-scenes" work, as indicated by the following table:

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Titles cataloged:	1,037	899	1,007	1,007	1,165
In terms of volumes:	*	1,438	1,117	1,262	1,296
Volumes prepared for binding or rebinding:	129	172	673	339	103
Photograph, photostat, microfilm orders filled:	*	*	270	300	365
"Lots" of material accessioned:	397	452	512	767	484

* No records available.

Miss A. Hester Rich and Messrs. Thomas Eader and Thomas Lombardi have efficiently carried on these varied duties.

In considering library and manuscript items, it should be noted that a "lot" is defined as the gift of a single donor, regardless of the number of items. It may consist of books or manuscripts or both; it may be one item or thousands. Not only is there a tremendous backlog in the area of processing these valuable records, but also the additional chores necessary to protect them during the construction of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building will defer their being given further attention until the new addition is completed and adequate personnel and space are provided for their proper sorting, indexing and shelving.

Among many manuscripts received in 1960 were: the papers of Dr. St. George Sioussat, former head of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress; biographies of Maryland composers, presented by the Maryland Federation of Music

Clubs; additions to the Tilghman and to the Glenn papers; and a notable gift to the Patterson-Bonaparte collection, the *Papers of William Patterson of Baltimore, 1777-1835*, presented by Mr. W. Hall Harris, Jr.

In 1961 the Society received the incoming correspondence files of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1850-1870, which, of course, include the important Civil War years; also the papers of two Maryland turnpike companies; and, small but important, the post office records from three Maryland towns.

Though many gifts were received for the manuscript collection in 1962 and 1963, mainly they were additions to existing holdings. The complete listing is too long for inclusion in this report, but one acquisition should be noted: the papers from the estates of the Thomas brothers, which included 25 log books of Baltimore vessels (1806 to 1878) as well as Thomas and Hugg correspondence dealing with shipping affairs of the era.

Acquired by purchase in 1961 were more than 1,000 issues of the Cumberland Maryland *Civilian*, 1828-1872, a collection unique in the newspaper files of the state.

Also during this period the Society's files of photographs and prints were thoroughly reorganized. In constant demand for reproduction use, these pictures of Maryland persons and scenes more than doubled in number. In 1963 alone the collection received over 3,000 additional items, most of them through the generous gift of The Hughes Company, photographers.

On April 30, 1962, the Society suffered a severe blow in the sudden death of James W. Foster, its director for almost 20 years. His devotion to, and enthusiasm in, building up the collections, and his energy in broadening the services of the Society greatly advanced its scholarly standing and civic contributions. Though his best thought to the planning of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building had been given, and his plans for retirement had been announced, it had been hoped that he would continue to contribute to the Society after the termination of his duties.

In June of the same year Mr. Manakee succeeded to the directorship, and with the erection of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building looming ahead a reassignment of responsibilities was held to be desirable. The director's duties became almost exclusively administrative, with Mr. John Kilbourne,

assistant to the director, assuming the complete burden of overseeing the library and manuscripts division, and Mr. Porter Hopkins, assistant to the director, taking over the direction of the Historic Road Marker Program.

Later in the same year Jacob France, vice-president of the Society and chairman of its Committee on Finance, also passed away. A frequent and generous donor, Mr. France was intensely interested in the plans for the new building. His bequest of \$250,000 for the establishment of a Jacob and Annita France room or wing for the exhibition of articles or records related to the history of Maryland, is among the Society's most treasured gifts.

Another important contribution of 1962 was that of Mr. Ernest A. Howard, historian of the Cecil County Historical Society, in the amount of \$10,000 to establish in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building a Civil War Union Room. The gift will provide an admirable complement to the long-maintained Confederate Room.

Still another notable acquisition of 1962 came with the gift from Mr. William Calvert Steuart of a large and outstanding collection of maritime items relating to the Port of Baltimore and the Chesapeake Bay.

Also in 1962, by virtue of an appropriation of the State Board of Public Works, the preparation of an analytical index of the first 50 volumes of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* began. The grant was made in response to requests from school and public librarians throughout the State and with the firm support of Dr. Morris L. Radoff, State Archivist. At this writing 28 volumes have been completed by Miss Betty Adler, compiler.

In 1963 the president appointed a committee to revise the constitution of the Society, with Mr. H. H. Walker Lewis, its recording secretary, as chairman. The revision, which brought the constitution in line with modern practices, and created the office of chairman of the Council, was submitted to the membership at its 1964 annual meeting and was formally adopted.

In the practical implementation of the Society's plans for the addition to its headquarters, the work of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building Committee has been a most important factor. In 1962, Mr. Abbott L. Penniman, Jr., veteran of a distinguished career in construction in the Baltimore area, was

appointed chairman of this group. The entire committee, but especially Mr. Penniman, has been tireless and highly successful in its efforts to translate the Society's needs into steel, brick and mortar. Countless hours have gone into consultation with the architects, with the Council, president, director, and city officials, in an effort to provide the best possible building for present and future requirements. The effort has been fruitful, for symbolic ground-breaking ceremonies were held November 23, 1964, and the plans were approved by the city's new Historical and Architectural Preservation Commission on December 9, 1964. Actual building operations began December 21, 1964. It is anticipated that the structure will be completed within 15 to 18 months.

It should be pointed out, however, that the generous bequests of the Thomas brothers apply only to the construction and maintenance of a building. Staffing the building to provide for increased services remains a considerable problem.

Necessarily this brief report of the Society's activities and services has said little about progress in many areas. Much work has been done, for example, on the portrait, china, silver, costume and other segments of the museum collection. Since the appointment of Mrs. Swarm as registrar, the indexing of gallery and museum holdings has been brought up to date. The storage areas, though of necessity still crowded, have been arranged in a more orderly, accessible and secure manner.

The existing several-part catalog of portraits in various media, prepared at different periods in the past by Miss Anna Wells Rutledge, Miss Holland, Miss Louisa Gary and Mr. Foster, is in the process of being consolidated and updated. A number of portraits have been restored, most of them by means of specific gifts. The recent bequest of the late Mrs. Louis C. Lehr in the amount of \$25,000 for the restoration of portraits is timely and welcome. It is hoped that this bequest will move others to make similar gifts to forward such vitally needed projects as the establishment of a furniture repair fund, or of a publication division. Each is a sore need.

* * *

What is the status of the Maryland Historical Society today? Briefly, it is a society which is in the vanguard of similar institutions in the country.

By tradition if not by definition, the chief concern of historical societies is the printed and written word, and for that reason this report has emphasized publications and acquisitions in books and manuscripts. It is hoped that this emphasis will never lessen.

Nevertheless, it is widely known that through the years the Society has accumulated holdings in the gallery and museum areas which are nationally famous. Its collection of over 900 oil portraits of Marylanders brings it into the front rank of institutions specializing in early American portraiture, and a similar comparison may be made for its holdings of miniatures. Its collection of 18th and 19th century furniture is so remarkable that many professionals in the field regard it with prime interest. Its costume collection ranks close to the fabulous holdings of the Brooklyn Museum and the Smithsonian Institution. Its collection of Maryland clocks is outstanding. In the areas of silver, glass, ceramics, textiles, carpenter and farm tools, and military items its holdings are more than substantial. Its collections in other fields, such as dolls, toys and games, and writing accessories are considerable. And in the expanded facilities of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building the maritime collection will be extensively exhibited for the first time. There, without doubt, it will develop further.

In short, the holdings of the Society are varied and rich. To be worthy of such treasures it is obligated to increase its already considerable efforts to disseminate information about them on every level, from scholarly study to the simple arousing of curiosity, a challenge that necessarily brings into focus the problem of finances.

Always dependent for its revenue on income from endowments, dues, and donations, the Society, at times, has found it difficult to make both ends meet. In 1964, for example, the building program demanded certain non-recurrent expenses and resulted in certain losses of revenue. Largely due to a generous contribution from the Jacob and Annita France Memorial Fund, the excess of expenditures over income was held to about \$2,300, a small amount under the circumstances. While the Society, on occasion, has successfully raised substantial sums from groups or individuals for special purposes, never has it conducted a general campaign for funds. Perhaps

the time is approaching when it should, for the acceptance of the gift of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building implies an obligation of broader and richer service to the community at large and, therefore, larger expenses loom ahead.

Increases in salaries are long overdue. Manuscripts and books require much cataloging and indexing as well as some rebinding and restoration. Even the annual book purchase appropriation is insufficient. Repair and restoration work is also vitally necessary to some of the Society's important paintings, prints and furniture items. Publication and school programs have grown rapidly, but need increased support. Furthermore, new or strengthened departments in the new building will require considerable sums of additional money, as will a necessary refurbishing of the Keyser Memorial Building, including the overdue and expensive modernization of its heating and wiring systems.

By rigid economy the Society can continue to function as it now does, but urgent needs for expanded service to its members and the community should be met as soon as possible. The following brief but more detailed accounts of some of the Society's activities will point up the urgency for increased financial support.

Publication Program

The Society's first publication series, the so-called *Pre-Fund Publications* (1844-1867), was followed by its *Fund Publications* (1867-1901). Aside from the *Archives of Maryland*, edited for the state, its only publication between 1901 and 1938 was its quarterly *Magazine*, the first issue of which appeared in 1906.

In 1938, Joseph T. Wheeler's able *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790*, was published in volume form after its appearance serially in the *Magazine*, and four years later a quarterly, *Maryland History Notes*, primarily a news bulletin for its members, was inaugurated.

Beginning in 1945, in cooperation with the city and state public schools, the Society and the Enoch Pratt Library of Baltimore began the joint publication of a series of leaflets on various aspects of Maryland history and biography. Known as the *Wheeler Leaflets in Maryland History*, they are in constant demand, and since 1952 they have been prepared, edited and

published solely by the Society. Though presently they number 25 titles, additional leaflets on specific subjects requested by the schools cannot be undertaken at this time because of the lack of personnel.

In 1954, Ginn and Company, publishers since 1934 of a school textbook, *My Maryland*, by Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler, decided to withdraw from the field of local history and, through the authors, waived publication rights. Thereupon, the Society undertook publication of the book, with Mr. and Mrs. Manakee bringing the text up to date. The first revised edition appeared in 1955, and since then about 30,000 copies have been sold.

In 1957, at the suggestion of Jacob France, then vice-president and chairman of the Finance Committee, a revolving fund with an initial appropriation of \$7,000 was established to place the publication program on a firmer financial basis. Up to this date the original fund has more than doubled, and has made possible the publishing of five additional titles. However, the plan must still be regarded only as a long step in the right direction, since the sum is insufficient to support the type of program desired by the Society and other interested parties, such as library and school officials.

An important development on the scholarly level was the formation in 1962 of the Seminar in Maryland History, under the direction of Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield, then chairman of the Publication Committee. The Seminar's purpose is to promote research in the Society's rich collections of manuscripts and to strengthen its publication program. It considers draft chapters of manuscripts which give promise of making substantial contributions to Maryland history, and provides their authors with constructive criticism. The Seminar's interests are not confined to manuscripts considered for publication by the Society, but also to those that may be published elsewhere. In 1964, by action of the Council, the Seminar became a standing committee.

In 1953 the Society inaugurated a series of *Studies in Maryland History* which has been favorably received in the scholarly world. Because of lack of personnel, however, such publication projects throw a heavy burden on the director, and it has been possible to print only four books in this category. Perhaps, therefore, the entire publication program needs re-study.

The fact, for example, that a competently written one-volume history of Maryland on the adult level does not exist is little short of shameful, and it should be a prime responsibility of the Society to commission the preparation of one immediately.

For those segments of its membership whose interests lie elsewhere, the Society in recent years has published two genealogies and two works devoted to specific counties.

The broadening of the Society's publication program to include not only scholarly studies, but also publications of interest to schools and the general public is indicated in the following list of titles published, 1938 to date. It should be emphasized, however, that the pressure of such work demands the formation of a publications division.

STUDIES IN MARYLAND HISTORY

- Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860.* By Raphael Semmes. 1953.
His Lordship's Patronage; Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland. By Donnell M. Owings. 1953.
The Dulany's of Maryland. By Aubrey C. Land. 1955. (*Out of print*)
William Buckland, 1733-1774. By Rosamond R. Beirne and John H. Scarff. 1958.

TEXTS AND REFERENCES FOR SCHOOL USE

- Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History.* (25 titles)
The Story of the Writing of The Star-Spangled Banner. By Harold R. and Beta K. Manakee. 1954. Illus. booklet.
My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. Revised edition,
Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959.
Early Exploration on the Chesapeake Bay. By Gilbert Byron. 1960.
Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961.
The War of 1812 on the Chesapeake Bay. By Gilbert Bryon. 1964. Illus. paperback.

MISCELLANEOUS

- The Maryland Press, 1777-1790.* By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938.
Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers. By Elizabeth Merritt. 1940.
History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950.
Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956.
The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962.
Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. By J. Reaney Kelly. 1963.

Work with Schools

In March, 1945, the Society was host at a meeting of outstanding educators and members of patriotic societies for the purpose of discussing means of providing more emphasis on Maryland

history in the schools. One result of this meeting was the formation of a Committee on Maryland History in the Schools, originally consisting of school, patriotic society and historical society representatives, but since resolved to an executive committee, consisting of Dr. Harry Bard, now president of the Baltimore Junior College, and Mr. Manakee as the representative of the Society.

Another result of the meeting was the transfer to the Society of the publication of the series of *Wheeler Leaflets* previously described.

Through the stimulation of this committee, as well as the Society's own Committee on Education, created in 1947, cooperation between the Society and the schools has grown to substantial proportions. Beginning in 1951 conducted tours of pupils actively have been encouraged, with results shown in the appended table of visitors to the Society which includes the annual number of student visitors from 1957 to the present. Previous to 1957 only estimates are available.

It is a matter of record that the tour statistics do not indicate all student visits. School holidays often find family groups, guided by a youngster who has been a member of a conducted tour, making an enthusiastic round of the exhibits.

While the sales of leaflets, books, maps, pamphlets, colored slides and post cards to students, teachers and school systems result in a modest but steady revenue, the Society's satisfaction in this program lies in the interest aroused among young people in the history of their state.

In addition to conducting tours, staff members frequently give talks at school assemblies, at parent-teacher meetings, on radio and television programs designed for classroom use, and to teacher work-shop groups. On occasion, members of the staff have participated in curriculum planning, and one member several times has taught college level courses in Maryland history.

World War II Records Division

Through the efforts of President Radcliffe, the General Assembly of Maryland, in 1945, ordered the collection, preservation and publication of data relative to Maryland's contribution to World War II. Supported by State funds, the Society was authorized to undertake the project.

The World War II Records Division of the Society was established in June, 1945, with rented quarters in the Society's building, and a few months later the president appointed a War Records Committee, with Mr. John T. Menzies as chairman. First, under the direction of Dr. Nelson B. Lasson, and later under the direction of Mr. Manakee, the Division published a 4-volume history of Maryland's role in World War II. Also it edited and prepared for publication two histories of Maryland military units which had been written by others. These titles are included in the previously given list of the Society's publications.

After this work had been completed, the Maryland Board of Public Works directed that a register of Marylanders in the armed forces, World War II, be prepared. This, the final publication of the project, is now in the hands of the printer. Five volumes of approximately 1,000 pages each will be required to list the name, rank, branch of service, serial number and community address of each of the estimated 250,000 service men and women of Maryland. A listing in the *Register* indicates that the Division has some record of the veteran—usually a carbon copy of his or her separation from service—in its files. This long-time, tedious project has been carried on ably by Mrs. Thea Kittel, Mrs. Katherine Thomas, and the Misses Florence Kelly and Selma Grether.

In addition to the records of service, the reports and data sheets from which the publications were compiled have become a part of the Society's collection, though technically they remain state property. Though this program has been supported with state funds, its personnel and its accumulated records occupy sorely needed space.

Historic Road Marker Program

The Maryland State Roads Commission, under whose auspices the Historic Road Marker program was begun in 1934, discontinued that work early in World War II, due to the metal shortage. Until that time J. Alexis Shriver had directed the program for the commission, with offices at the Society's headquarters. The program resumed in 1953, with John H. Scarff as director until 1956, when the then chairman of the State Roads Commission held that road building funds should not be used for historical markers. In 1958, the program began

again under a direct grant from the state to the Society, with Mr. Manakee as director on a part-time basis. In 1963, he was succeeded by Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins.

The program has resulted in the erection of over 400 plaques marking historic sites throughout the state. A printed booklet, giving the locations and texts of these markers, is in preparation.

In view of today's high-speed driving and the increase in limited access highways, on which the State Roads Commission properly forbids the erection of any but traffic directional signs, the entire program needs re-study.

Volunteer Services

Over the years the Society could not have functioned as fully as it has without the help of many devoted volunteer friends. Were the names and descriptions of their contributions to be listed, a lengthy pamphlet would result. However, the value of their contributions can be briefly indicated.

The library and manuscripts divisions have had help in sorting, filing, cataloging, indexing, clipping, mending and other aspects of their work. While the volunteers have not been performing all types of work at any one time, their assistance has made great inroads on the constantly growing accumulation of materials that require processing. Notable for long, faithful and dependable volunteer service in these areas have been: Mrs. William F. Bevan, Miss Jessie Slee, Miss Nancy Ridout, Mrs. Swepson Earle, Miss Mary C. Hiss, Miss Florence Kelly, Miss Eliza C. Funk, Mrs. G. W. Cauthorne and Mr. Richard H. Randall, Sr.

The gallery has had equally faithful and capable help in identifying, classifying and marking gift items, and in checking its numerous files. Portraits have been restored, and furniture, clocks and firearms have been repaired by volunteer-experts. In these areas the services of Miss Elisabeth Packard, Mr. Harry Berry, Miss Pechin Ingle, Mrs. John C. Stokes, Mrs. Charles A. Webb, Mrs. George Weems Williams, Mrs. Swepson Earle, Mrs. J. Nicholas Shriver and Messrs. Harry B. Dillehunt, Jr., Hugh Benet, Sr., and Samson Feldman have been outstanding.

Of late years guide service has been a staff detail, generously supplemented by volunteers. The Junior League docents, whose services began in 1956, guided over half of the 36,843 pupils in the 921 classes that toured the Society between 1956

and 1961. Members of this group continue their almost indispensable work. Notable for prolonged periods of faithful service have been: Mrs. Bryden B. Hyde, Mrs. Thomas B. Catron, Mrs. E. Kirkbride Miller, Jr., Mrs. Samuel P. Asper and Mrs. J. T. Jervey.

The maritime collection has been entirely manned by volunteers who seek gifts, build and repair models, and accession, label, display or assign to storage each item as it becomes a part of the collection. Outstanding in this category have been the services of Messrs. R. Hammond Gibson, Richard H. Randall, Sr. and H. Graham Wood. For the faithful and able performance of these many tasks the Society cannot adequately thank its volunteer friends. Yet the sum of their accomplishments underlines, the need for a larger staff.

Relationships with Other Societies

One of the most happy and fruitful of the Society's long-time projects has been that of encouraging the formation of county historical societies. As late as 1947 only eight such county societies existed, but by the fall of 1957 that number had been doubled. Much credit for the increase was due to the efforts of a Committee on Relations with Other Societies, formed in 1948 under the chairmanship of Mrs. Francis F. Beirne, and to the president and director, each of whom was generous with practical advice and visits to various parts of the state. At that time the Society invited to its headquarters representatives from these groups for the first Annual Conference of County Historical Societies. Subsequent annual meetings have been held at Annapolis and Easton as well as in Baltimore. By 1962 each of the 23 counties had formed a society. All are active, and 15 have their own headquarters buildings, while two others support museums or historic homes not suitable for headquarters use. In at least one county a movement toward the establishment of town museums has begun.

At the 1963 state-wide meeting, held at the Society's headquarters, it was moved that an Association of Historical Societies of Maryland be formed. The motion was favorably acted upon and a constitution was adopted at the 1964 meeting. The organization acts as a clearing house for the member groups in matters of historic interest. Through it allied societies exchange

information and items, and this Society extends its help wherever possible.

In addition to cooperating with county groups, the Society maintains close liaison with many patriotic, lineal and preservation organizations, largely through the efforts of Miss Holland and Mr. Porter Hopkins.

The influence of these allied societies in arousing interest in the history of their communities among both young people and adults is easily discernable. A general awakening to the past has taken hold in areas of the state not heretofore reached.

Manuscript Repair

Many of the Society's valuable manuscripts come to it in need of expert and delicate repair if they are to be preserved in usable form.

The art of manuscript restoration has undergone changes in recent years, and methods have been discovered to produce lasting and safe results. Funds to purchase the materials required and to retain expert restorationists have been provided by individuals and by patriotic societies, notably through the generous contributions of the Maryland Society, Daughters of Colonial Wars; of the National and of the Maryland Society, Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America; of the Maryland Daughters of the American Revolution, Thomas Johnson Chapter; of the Maryland Society, Colonial Dames of America; of the Maryland Society, United Daughters of the Confederacy; and of the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland.

For some years this work was most capably carried on by Miss Dorothy Bokel, later by the Misses Louisa Gary and Esther Taylor, and more recently by Mrs. Wilhelmina Lord. The work has progressed steadily, though in the Society's present quarters it must be halted during the summer months because of the danger of mildew. In the new building humidity control will permit the continuance of this vital work on a year-round basis. Then a full-time, rather than a part-time staff will be necessary. In addition, certain extremely valuable documents, such as the drawings submitted in the competition for the designs of the President's House and the United States Capitol Building need delicate preservation measures which can only be entrusted to one of the few existing highly trained

restorationists with long experience. Their service is expensive.

Exhibits

In the section of this report covering the years 1943 to 1947, reference was made to the Gallery Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. John H. Scarff, having established period rooms in the Pratt mansion to begin a transition from miscellaneous displays to the organized exhibition of the Society's holdings. During the same period Mr. Foster, with the Committee's endorsement, inaugurated the staging of special exhibits to mark particular occasions. Though the art gallery, where most of the displays were held, is not easily adaptable to such activity, the shows have been an important factor in attracting visitors to the Society and in securing notices in the press. Needless to say, in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building the facilities for mounting exhibits will be greatly augmented.

The themes of the exhibits have been many and varied. On the occasions of the afternoon and evening lectures, for instance, efforts have been made to exhibit materials related to the topics discussed by the speakers. Therefore, an indication of their wide range may be gained by reference to the charts on page 91, which tabulate the subjects of those lectures.

It has become traditional, in addition, to observe such holidays as Maryland Day, Defenders' Day, and the Christmas season with suitable displays. Furthermore, efforts have been made to feature items from the Society's rich collections of furniture, costumes, silver, china, bookplates, heraldic charts and coats of arms, and maritime paintings, prints and models.

In line with the policy of cooperating with allied societies, still other exhibitions have featured Baltimore, Dorchester and Talbot counties, as well as the commemorative observances of certain groups, such as the Tercentenary Anniversary of the Jewish Community in 1954.

Yet another series of displays has been concerned with the economic and civic contributions to the state by Maryland industries, as illustrated by an exhibition on Baltimore and the China Trade in 1950; on the Baltimore Coffee Trade in 1951;

on Maryland Made Pottery in 1955; and on Bethlehem Steel's Role in the Port of Baltimore in 1963.

Efforts also have been made to mount exhibits related to current events, such as that of 1949 centering around the 300th Anniversary of the Maryland Act of Religious Toleration, or the one staged in 1959 when the Baltimore Baseball Club returned to major league status. During the observance of the Civil War Centennial a number of exhibits relating to that conflict were shown. Still other displays have featured Amelung glass in 1952; the History of Medicine in Maryland in 1953; and Baltimore as a Leading Presidential Convention City in 1964. In the field of art, the works of George William West in 1949; of Saint Memin in 1951; of John Beale Bordley in 1954; and of Thomas C. Corner in 1960 have been shown.

The planning of exhibits has been the responsibility of Miss Holland, assisted by Mrs. Swarm and the staff generally. In the actual mounting of the displays members of the Women's Committee have given valuable assistance and, more recently, Mr. Thomas Eader of the library staff. If the exhibits program is to expand as it should in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building a full-time exhibits preparator will be necessary.

* * *

In reviewing a quarter-century's history of an institution it is inevitable that certain personalities emerge.* Outstanding among those of the Society is former Senator George L. Radcliffe. In securing his services as president, it was the institution's good fortune to select a man who, while bearing a national reputation in the surety insurance world and in the field of politics, also had a deep interest in Maryland history. That interest arose, perhaps, from the fact that, in 1900, his doctoral thesis at the Johns Hopkins University in the field of history was titled *Governor Thomas Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War*, a scholarly study which stands today as definitive. Throughout his long association with the Society he has given generously of time, money and endeavor to forward its work.

In addition, as the Society's president, Senator Radcliffe has been selected by the chief executive of the city or the state to organize many commemorative programs. In 1949, for instance,

* This section has been inserted by the director, without the knowledge of any of the persons mentioned.

he headed a committee to observe the 300th Anniversary of the Maryland Act of Religious Toleration. During the same year he led another group which planned the observance of the 150th Anniversary of the Incorporation of Baltimore. Also in 1949 he presided over ceremonies at the dedication of the Lee-Jackson double equestrian statue in Baltimore. From 1960 to 1965 he served as chairman of the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission. On many occasions he has participated in the annual ceremonies at Valley Forge and at Washington Crossing on the Delaware River, as the official representative of the Governor of Maryland. In addition, he presided over the formal observances of such historic and progressive events as the beginning of work on the Baltimore Harbor Tunnel and the opening of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge.

Closely associated with the fruitful interest and activities of the president was James W. Foster, director from 1942 until his untimely death on April 30, 1962. His knowledge of important Marylandiana of every description—whether in libraries, galleries, museums, or in private hands—was scholarly and encyclopedic. His enthusiastic drive for the betterment of the Society was unrelenting. Hence, President Radcliffe and Director Foster formed a team whose efforts were of untold benefit.

To every member of the "career staff" through the years the Society must be grateful. Outstanding in this group, however, are the late Florence Kennedy and Miss Martha Bokel. After 32 years of dedicated service as assistant librarian, Miss Kennedy in her will established the Thomas Campbell Kennedy Memorial Fund in memory of her father, the fund to be used for library purposes.

Coming to the Society in 1925 as secretary, today Miss Bokel, after serving in many capacities, capably fills the responsible position of business manager. Her contributions have been tremendous, and not the least of them is the fact that her memory often goes beyond the period when the Society was able to keep detailed records. Her constant interest in the development of all phases of the Society's work, and her long association with the membership make her desk one of the hubs of the Society's services today.

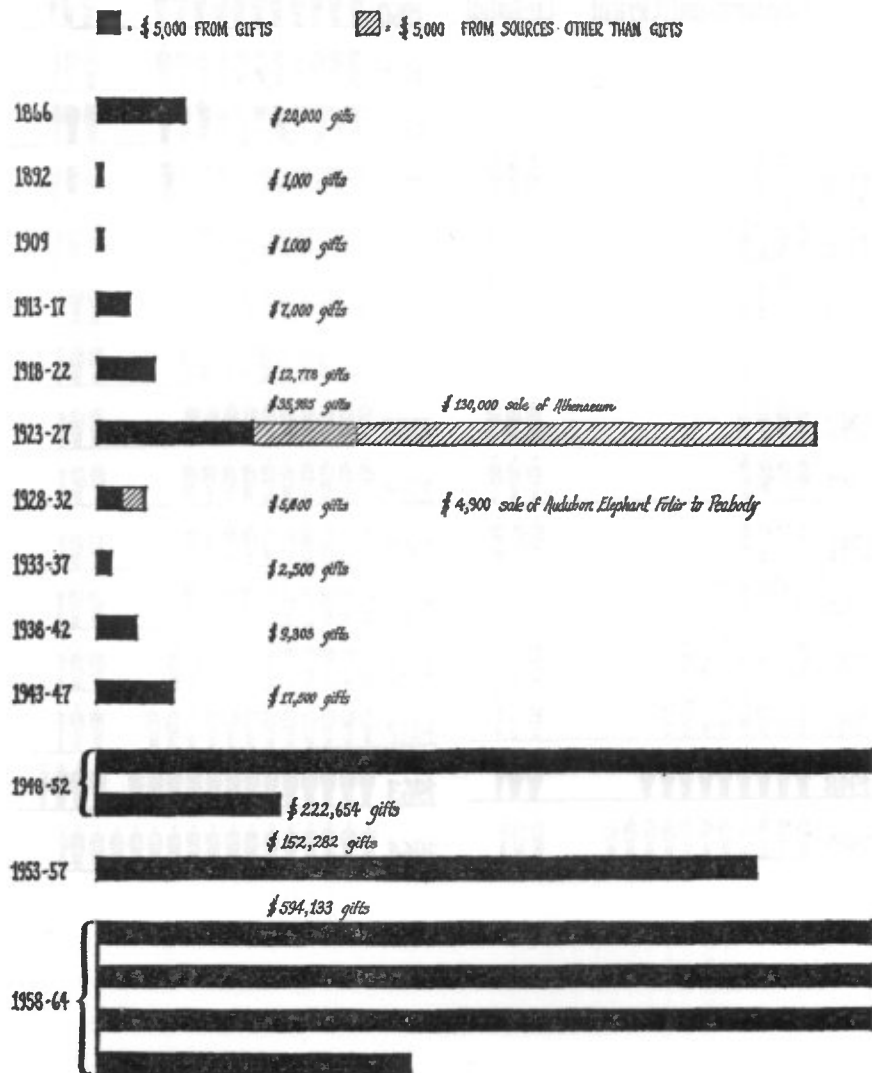
* * *

The Society generally, and the retiring president particularly, are grateful for the confidence manifested by the members

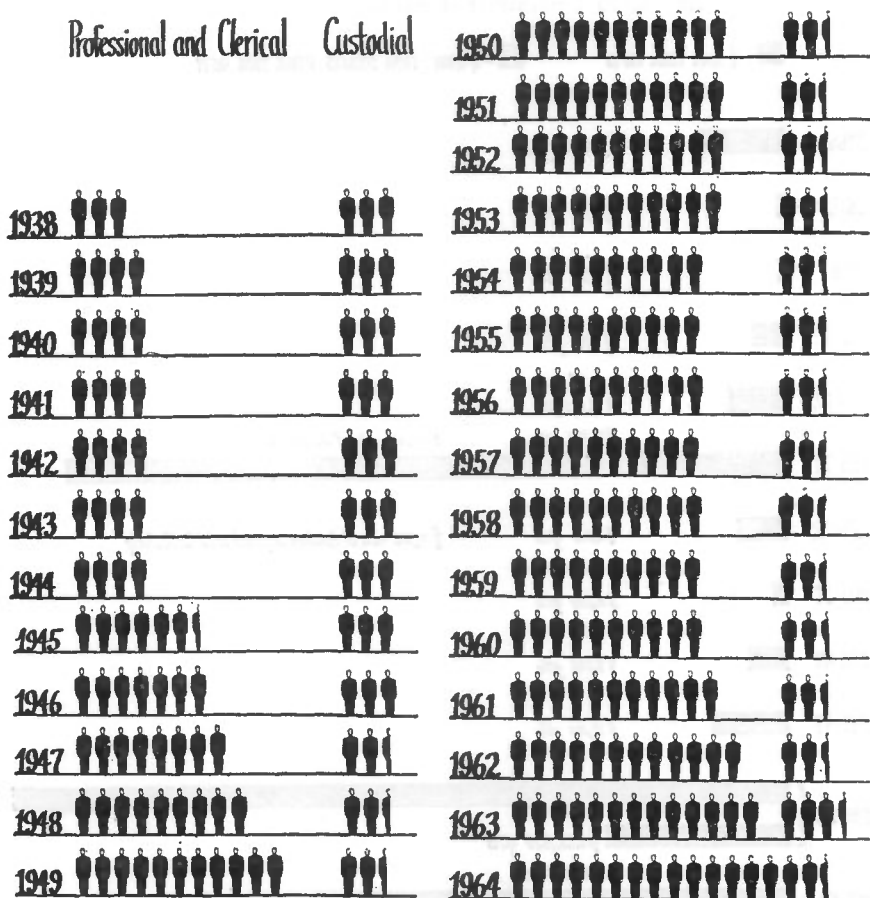
through the years. That welcomed loyalty has resulted in a stable foundation upon which to build along carefully planned lines. For the future it is hoped that such support will continue and grow, as the Society expands the services it now renders.

* * *

Additions to Unrestricted Endowment 1866 to 1964



*Number of Staff
1938 to 1964*



*Subjects of Evening Meeting Addresses
1938 to 1964*

	1938- 1942	1943- 1947	1948- 1952	1953- 1957	1958- 1964	Total 1938-1964
Colonial Period	7	4	3	6	2	22
Revolutionary Period	3	2	1	1	2	9
Federal Period, incl. War of 1812	—	3	—	4	—	7
Civil War Period	3	—	—	1	7	11
Late 19th Century	1	3	1	—	5	10
Current history and world affairs	1	36	17	7	3	64
Historical society collections and techniques	5	6	2	1	3	17
Art	3	1	—	1	2	7
Architecture	1	2	4	7	10	24
History and art of other countries	1	—	3	1	3	8
Arts and crafts	—	—	—	—	3	3
Miscellaneous	12	5	11	9	13	50
Total	<u>37</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>235</u>

*Subjects of Afternoon Lectures
1944 to 1964*

	1944- 1947	1948- 1952	1953- 1957	1958- 1964	Total 1944-1964
Houses and gardens	5	3	1	3	12
Portraits, landscapes, sculpture	3	4	1	1	9
Furniture	1	2	1	3	7
Silver	1	—	2	—	3
Pewter	1	—	—	—	1
Art and craft surveys	—	2	1	—	3
Needlework and textiles	1	—	1	1	3
Ceramics	1	—	1	1	3
Glass	—	1	—	—	1
Clocks	1	—	—	—	1
Woodcarving	—	1	—	—	1
Heraldry	—	—	—	1	1
Colonial domestic life	—	—	—	1	1
Culture of dining	—	—	—	1	1
Cookery, Early American	—	—	—	1	1
Underwater exploration (Baltimore-destined cargo)	—	—	—	1	1
Total	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>49</u>

*Visitors and Patrons
1938 to 1964*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Library Patrons*</i>	<i>School Tours*</i>	<i>Total Visitors*</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Library Patrons</i>	<i>School Tours</i>	<i>Total Visitors</i>
1938	1,600			1951	850		
1939	1,600			1952	1,000		
1940	1,100			1953	800		
1941	1,100			1954	1,500		
1942	900			1956	2,000		
1943	900			1957	2,500	6,112	14,121
1944	2,100			1958	2,900	8,163	14,121
1945	800			1959	2,178	7,761	14,491
1946	800			1960	3,228	7,862	14,412
1947	900			1961	3,218	4,678	12,098
1948	850			1962	3,247	6,894	17,853
1949	900			1963	3,579	6,899	21,215
1950	900			1964	3,057	6,528	20,030

* Until 1957 only spot checking was used to estimate visitors to the Society. While a visitors' register was kept in the library, this was signed by only a small and varying percentage of the library's patrons. Therefore all figures up to 1957 are estimates. Since that date an accurate count has been kept of all visitors.

*Record of Membership
1938 to 1964*

1938	1,163	1951	3,250
1939	1,217	1952	3,535
1940	1,147	1953	3,290
1941	1,244	1954	3,361
1942	1,238	1955	3,534
1943	1,855	1956	3,266
1944	2,142	1957	2,780
1945	2,410	1958	3,091
1946	2,614	1959	2,989
1947	2,837	1960	3,081
1948	2,926	1961	3,371
1949	2,946	1962	3,463
1950	3,057	1963	3,579
		1964	3,354

SIDELIGHTS

A SPANISH GOVERNOR'S INVITATION TO MARYLAND'S CATHOLICS

By STEPHEN G. REGES

WHEN THE first Spanish governor of Louisiana arrived in New Orleans, it was spring in 1766. The city was a growing port which squatted in the swampy lands near the mouth of the Mississippi; not yet apparent were its future charms as a river queen. Antonio de Ulloa, appointed by His Catholic Majesty as governor and captain general of the new province, stayed in the city only long enough to become acquainted with the truculence of the French merchant population. It had been nearly four years since the French ceded Louisiana to Spain, her ally against Britain in the Seven Years War. During this period, in the absence of a Spanish governor, the merchants had enjoyed a degree of freedom from trade restrictions which they were reluctant to surrender. The opposition of the New Orleans merchants was in fact never overcome, and eventually led to Ulloa's departure two and a half years after his arrival.

Shortly after coming, the Governor left New Orleans on an inspection of the widely dispersed frontier communities. Traveling as far as the Natchitoches on the Red River, Ulloa was cordially welcomed in spite of the fact that the educated Spaniard was out of character among the French frontiersmen of Louisiana. The Indian trade was the chief concern of these men; from the beginning the new governor retained the experienced French commandants in the frontier posts as well as their policy of managing the Indians. These military men and the former French governor, Aubry, had remained in their posts under Spanish pay in order to facilitate the transition from French to Spanish administration. The expense of both the French and the Spanish government officials in the colony, together with the expense of supplying the widely separated posts of the colony, created financial problems for the Spanish governor which remained largely unsolved throughout his administration. Civilian and military personnel were most frequently underpaid, and though the Crown was reasonably generous in trying to meet the requests of Ulloa, the allotments were never sufficient.

Occupying most of the Governor's attention, however, was immigration and colonization. The Spanish had good reason to fear

British commercial expansion into Louisiana. British traders had already entered the territory to trade with the Indians, and the British establishments on the eastern banks of the Mississippi made it appear that such illegal trade would increase. Until 1768, British troops remained in West Florida, a former Spanish area ceded to Britain at the close of the Seven Years War for the return of Havana to Spain. Ulloa recommended better military defense of Louisiana which was closest to West Florida. But the plan he favored as the most likely to secure the colony against British penetration was colonization of the territory. Unfortunately, Louisiana was out of the way of Spanish colonial activity in the Americas. The vast areas from Alta, California, through the southwest and along the gulf plains to East Florida had never been more than Spanish borderlands. This was the remote frontier of New Spain, an area threatened at times by the French, the English, the Russians, and finally the Americans.

Contrary to the policy of other Spanish colonies, immigration of non-Spaniards into Louisiana was not only welcomed but even invited. During the Spanish period colonization was the most important aspect of Louisiana's history.¹ The Acadian migration, the movement of Acadian Catholics into Louisiana, romanticized in Longfellow's poetry, began before Ulloa arrived to assume his duties. It was a migration which was not unnatural despite the distance and differences between Acadia and the lower Mississippi valley. The Acadians were leaving an area that had passed to the suzerainty of Protestant Britain. Their destination was an area where they would find Frenchmen and the sympathy of a Catholic government. Ulloa encouraged the Acadians by promising them land to cultivate, implements for farming, guns and ammunition for hunting and corn for food and seed, which was the same generosity that the French had shown to the Acadians when they governed the area. But so anxious was Ulloa to secure great numbers of these Catholic emigrants for Louisiana, that he proposed in 1767 that an additional allotment be made by the King to Louisiana for the purpose of granting to each Acadian beyond what the French had given them, a cow and a calf, six hens and a cock.² As a result, it was during the Spanish regime that French settlement in Louisiana was the greatest.³

Governor Ulloa's zeal for peopling Louisiana with Catholics who

¹ *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1945*, 4 vols., Washington, D.C., 1949. Vol. II, Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1795*, p. XIX.

² *Ibid.*, 17, Governmental expenses 1762, Colony of Louisiana.

³ Charles Gayarre, *History of Louisiana* (4 Vols. New Orleans, 1903), III, 171.

had suffered real or imagined hardships under Protestant British rule did not end with the Acadians. In the British colony of Maryland, he reasoned, was a group of Catholics who felt discontent under a Protestant proprietor. The colony possessed a Catholic heritage dating back to the first proprietorship. But after 1689 Catholics were disenfranchised and politically proscribed. Maryland Catholics had heard, however, from Acadian friends of the virtues of Catholic Louisiana.⁴ The interest of some of these Marylanders in relocating west of the Mississippi was encouraged by the cautious urging of Governor Ulloa.

On July 31, 1767, Ulloa sent an unsigned reply to a Catholic gentleman resident in Saint Mary's County. In it he inquired as to whether British subjects were free to emigrate and whether emigrants from a British colony were likely to arouse the resentment of British authorities. The Governor could not forget that Spain had abandoned her neutrality during the Seven Years War to fight with the French against the British. He could not forget that Spain had lost Florida to Britain as a result of that war, nor could he overlook the several British frigates that had been seen in the Mississippi. A communication of this sort Ulloa felt required the utmost care. Ulloa was wooing British subjects and he was not certain of paternal reaction. In his letter the Governor offered Marylanders interested in establishing themselves in Louisiana free land exempt from future taxation.

Henry Jerningham, who described himself as "related to many of the prime nobility . . . in England,"⁵ was the gentleman who had first contacted Ulloa and was the recipient of Ulloa's reply. As to being Catholic, a prime requisite for settlers in a Spanish colony at this time, he left no doubt. He informed Governor Ulloa that his brother had died a Jesuit, a fact which may not have impressed the Governor since the Society of Jesus had been disbanded by Papal bull some years previously and its members were distrusted by the Spanish. However, should this fact have failed to impress Ulloa, Jerningham's mention that his three sisters were nuns should have convinced the Governor of his correspondent's Catholicity and thus his trustworthiness.

Jerningham assured Ulloa further that a "British subject is free, that he may emigrate where he pleases [and that] in time of peace, nothing can stop him but his creditors, should he have any."⁶ What Ulloa did not realize when he wrote his letter was that he

⁴ Kinnaird, *op. cit.*, 36, Henry Jerningham to Ulloa, Nov. 28, 1767.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

was not dealing with people of little wealth when he addressed the Marylanders. The Catholics of Saint Mary's County were well-to-do people who owned rich tobacco land which afforded them a livelihood greater than what was simply adequate. Jerningham wanted to know what in Louisiana was available to men who could afford to buy their own land and who wanted nothing less than what they left.⁷ Indeed, he assured Ulloa that if the conditions were right there were hundreds of families who would consider life in Louisiana a blessing.⁸ To secure first hand information about the law and the land west of the Mississippi, James Walker was dispatched from Maryland in December 1767. His purpose was to reside in Louisiana several months in order to become familiar with agriculture and Spanish rule.

Walker was "a plebeyan [*sic*] and mechanic . . . possess[ing] lands in freehold."⁹ As a man whose "father, and mother were Roman Catholics . . . [and who] was christened in the same communion and has behaved as a good Cristian [*sic*], and moral man . . ."¹⁰ he was warmly received by Governor Ulloa and granted every privilege necessary to his purpose. An extended tour of the Acadian settlements in Louisiana was arranged, taking Walker to San Luis and thence a five or six day journey up the Colorado River to the Rio de Cañas, so that he could see the extent of the country and its good character. After the Marylander's return to the Mississippi, he was escorted by way of the Bayou of Chafalalla to Opelousas where he viewed another prosperous Acadian settlement and where he could see "great expanses of territory, and prairies extending as far as the eye [could] reach."¹¹

Ulloa's enthusiasm and high hopes for the success of the proposed Maryland migration were clearly indicated in a letter he wrote to Marquis de Grimaldi, Minister of State on February 11, 1768. "Your Excellency," wrote Ulloa, "can see that . . . if the country suits them, the colony will quickly be thickly settled with people who are irreconcilable enemies of England on account of the contempt and persecution they have suffered."¹² Jerningham's mention of hundreds of Maryland families who would feel blessed if they had an opportunity to relocate in Louisiana, had grown in Ulloa's estimation to "many more than a thousand families . . . a flood of settlers . . . leaving empty the country they abandon as they fill up this one."¹³

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 39, Jerningham to Ulloa, Dec. 14, 1767.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Ulloa to Grimaldi, Feb. 11, 1768.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

As far as the Governor was concerned, nothing could have been better for Spanish Louisiana than a population of American Catholics and Acadians who hated the British. By this time Ulloa considered the Maryland migration which was yet to materialize, as only the beginning of a greater American migration from colonies neighboring Maryland whose Catholics would be anxious to share the good fortune of their Maryland brothers.¹⁴

Ulloa's expectations were only partly fulfilled. The migration of American Catholics was never a flood. There were arrivals from Virginia early in 1787, long after Ulloa's departure. In that year Bryan Bruin disembarked in New Orleans with a group of Virginia Catholics seeking permission to settle in West Florida which had been returned to Spain in 1783. Also in that year William Fitzgerald arrived in the same city with a plan to transport thirty Catholic families from New York to Louisiana. Governor Miro, then administering Louisiana, dealt with both Bruin and Fitzgerald in a manner reminiscent of the generosity of former governor Ulloa. Bruin and his people received land grants fronting on the Mississippi or its creeks,¹⁵ and Fitzgerald received one thousand pesos to assist in paying his expenses as well as approval for his plan.¹⁶

Unfortunately for the hopes of Spain to dominate the Mississippi Valley the American Catholic "flood" never became a reality. Maryland Catholics to a large extent were reluctant to give up the wealth and comfort they enjoyed in Maryland even though deprived of religious liberty. There was however an American flood of non-Catholics into the valley. These Americans, many of them speculators, proved to be a menace to Spanish rule rather than an asset. In 1785 Americans in Louisiana of this type were being spoken of as "enemies within our territory."¹⁷ Later, the Louisiana Governor wrote:

This vast and restless American population progressively driving the Indian tribes before them and upon us, seeking to possess themselves of all the extensive regions which the Indians occupy between the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers, the Gulf of Mexico and the Appalachian Mountains, thus becoming our neighbors at the same time that they menacingly ask for the free navigation of the Mississippi. Their writings, public papers and speeches, all turn on this point, the free navigation of the Gulf by the rivers . . . which empty

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Lawrence Kinnaird, *American Penetration into Spanish Louisiana* (2 vols., Lancaster, 1932), I, 230-231.

¹⁶ Kinnaird, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, III, p. xxiv.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 125, Galvez to Miro, Apr. 23, 1785.

into it, the rich fur trade of the Missouri, and in time the possession of the rich mines of the interior provinces of the very kingdom of Mexico. Their mode of growth and their policy are as formidable for Spain as their armies. . . Their roving spirit and the readiness with which to procure subsistence and shelter facilitate rapid settlement. . .

If such men come to occupy the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri . . .doubtless nothing will prevent them from crossing and penetrating into our provinces on the other side, which being to a great extent unoccupied can oppose no resistance . . .¹⁸

Therefore Ulloa's plan to colonize the vast Louisiana Territory with a productive people amicable to Spanish rule failed to develop to an extent sufficient to secure it as a Spanish colony. But of course it was not the British but the American frontiersman in search of his ultimate western limit who proved to be the real threat to any European power in the mid-continent. Just three years after the degenerate Spanish Bourbons retroceded Louisiana to the French in 1800, the area became part of the United States by purchase.

¹⁸ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, (New York: 1964), quote found on pp. 183-184.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Loyalists and Redcoats, A Study in British Revolutionary Policy.

By PAUL H. SMITH. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1964. 199. \$5.

Dr. Smith's thesis is that the failure of the Loyalists to give more military aid to the British during the American Revolution rests largely on the shoulders of the British government. The first cause of blame was the inability of the policy makers in London to gauge just when the rebellion in America changed from a constitutional issue to a military one. "While loyalists took a leading role in the pre-Revolutionary debates, urging caution, suggesting compromise, and defeating extreme resolutions, they quickly withdrew to the sidelines when the struggle settled down to a test of arms" and "patiently awaited Britain's guidance and leadership."

The most costly error London made, and the one with the most far-reaching consequence, was the belief that the Loyalists would continue to support vigorously—and now with arms as well as with words—the British position. And Englishmen generally regarded most Americans as loyal to the Crown and that the Loyalists would fight to prevent independence. The rebels, on the other hand, were looked upon as cowards or too poorly trained militarily to stand up against British regulars on the field of battle. In this second assumption, the British government felt, prior to 1778, that Loyalist military support was unnecessary and thus made no plans to mold them into an effective military organization. Contributing to the belief in the potential Loyalist military strength were the early efforts of local Loyalist leaders to establish provincial corps. The author points out, however, that these attempts were of local not London origin and that the Loyalists "acted not because of, but in absence of, positive encouragement" from England.

Furthermore, those who enlisted in such provincial regiments "were conditioned by fear of rebel reprisals, proximity of the British army, and a presumption that the war would be of short duration." When the war continued and France entered the struggle, London finally turned to the Loyalists for assistance—but "much too late, and then relied upon them much too completely." Dr. Smith concludes that throughout the war England "relied on a series of inconsistent plans" for subduing her colonies

in America, "of which her loyalist policy was the least well managed."

In spite of some sweeping statements, *Loyalists and Redcoats* is well written and organized. It presents a new point of view instead of concentrating on the old theme of how many Loyalists there were, why they remained loyal, and the battles in which they participated. Dr. Smith has used the manuscript materials in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the Clements Library, as well as the major primary printed sources, to promote this interesting thesis.

O. T. BARCK, JR.

Sacramento State College

The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith. By PHILIP L. BARBOUR.
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1964. xix, 553. \$7.50.

In this well-documented, readable book, Philip Lemont Barbour demonstrates considerable skill in weaving the three worlds of Captain John Smith into a narrative which is both coherent and informative. As an adventurer, Smith traveled the length and breadth of Europe fighting at first in the Dutch War of Independence and later in various skirmishes which characterized the long drawn-out struggle between the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire. With his return to England in 1604, this twenty-four-year-old son of a Lincolnshire yeoman farmer became the colonist who kept the Jamestown "settlement together through Indian raids, famine, demoralization, and perfidy." Returning home in 1616 after a decade in the New World, Smith spent the last fifteen years of his life as a promoter of new colonies and a historian of those already founded.

Barbour is well-equipped to write a biography of John Smith. With a scholar's knowledge of the Slavic society of Smith's first world, the author portrays his career as "a soldier, slave, and fugitive over the face of Europe" with insights lacking in previous biographies. In his discussion of Smith the colonist and promoter, Barbour expands on his already-published study of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold to present a balanced account of John Smith's role in the British colonizing efforts of the early seventeenth century.

In the debate over Smith's historical importance, Barbour must be classified, on balance, as one of his "champions." His defense

of this controversial figure is evident throughout the book. Although admitting that much of his information comes from Smith's own pen and that Smith tended to exaggerate, the author, nevertheless, frequently cites these writings as his authority. As a result, the book seems to validate many of those interesting and romantic stories which are associated with John Smith's name. For example, the author relates the well-known episode in which Pocahontas allegedly saved Smith's life without comment as to its authenticity. Powhatan's "favorite daughter," he writes, "defied the priests and the ministerial executioners" to rescue the "bearded little man." (p. 168).

Despite such minor shortcomings, this study is the closest thing we have to a definitive biography of Captain John Smith. The author's claims that the success of the Jamestown settlement was due more to John Smith than to any other one man and that his explorations guided the Pilgrims to Plymouth are well-substantiated and hard to refute. Careful research, lucid language, a judicious tone, and a mastery of voluminous source material help to make the reading of this volume an enjoyable and worthwhile experience for scholar and layman alike.

JOSEPH C. MORTON

Waynesburg College

O Strange New World. By HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. New York: The Viking Press, 1964. xiv, 464. \$8.50.

And what a strange new world it was, if one viewed it through the eyes of a 15th Century European. The newly discovered land mass to the west was reported to be a paradise; and yet, like all mythic Edens, it was also pictured as containing the hostile and bizarre. It was the habitation of strange phenomena, some real but more imagined, that were used, as Professor Jones makes abundantly clear, to challenge the familiar imperatives whether of the decaying feudalism or the rising absolutisms.

The curiosity, hopes and ambitions, inspired by these stories, soon prompted the more adventuresome Europeans to launch their search for success, however they defined that goal, on the American continents. They brought with them familiar structures, and ideas and attempted to erect, in this new setting, the social and physical furniture which each identified with his own version of the "good life." The new world soon felt the thrust of European rivalries in

both policy and value. If, at first, it was thought to be a paradisiac garden, this strange new world soon took on many aspects that were all-too-familiar in the Old. Power politics, at least in the form of the expedient double-cross and the restless refusal to obey duly-constituted authority, soon made its appearance not merely in the regions colonized by England but also in those to the south. Nevertheless, Europeans, down to the decades before our Civil War, continued to respond alternately to the alluring attractions, sometimes imaginary, and the provocative repulsions, too often real, that had been characteristic since the discovery of the new world.

One way of reading the book is to begin with the "Afterword," pp. 390-5. The scope and pattern of the book become clearer if these last five pages are read first. The "Preface" warns that only "certain elements in the national culture" are dealt with "to find out what people thought or said or imagined about the New World or about the young republic in the West." Political history and the development of religious groups and literatures are treated only incidentally. Professor Jones has preferred to take an "imaginative look at other great trends or components in the transit of civilization across the Atlantic."

This is, therefore, meant to be only part of the story. One may, indeed, wonder at the author's determination to synthesize a description of the formative years of American culture, as indicated by the sub-title, without devoting attention to politics, religion, and literature. When he does touch on politics such as Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 in Virginia or Leisler's Rebellion of 1688 in New York, the author relies on older interpretations rather than Washburne's *The Governor and the Rebel* or Reich's *Leisler's Rebellion*. Nevertheless, a book must be judged according to the author's purpose rather than by what a reviewer might have preferred. To achieve what he set out to do, Howard Mumford Jones has written a smoothly modulated account, studded like a rich plum-pudding with quotations which aptly illustrate the varied reactions to this strange new world.

Among the more memorable points made in the book is the one dealing with the relative culture of South and North America. The universities of Spanish America had absorbed the ideas of the Renaissance learning long before Harvard College gave them even a tentative hearing. Indians, along with those of Spanish descent, were educated while Harvard, during the same period, could boast only one red-skinned alumnus. As late as the age of Jefferson, the best scientific institutions in this hemisphere, according to Alexander von Humbolt, were to be found in Mexico City. This should serve as a salutary corrective for the disdain, still too prevalent

with which Americans from the English plantings view the record of Spain and her colonies.

A similar remedy for the smugness of some Americans may lie in the discovery that the republic of our Founding Fathers was considered in much the same light as we now view the Soviet Union. The United States of America was seen by the monarchies and aristocracies of Europe as a dangerous revolutionary threat to their security. It was not only considered dangerous but also unstable. Within the first few decades of our existence, treason and insurrection were tumbling about with fiscal jugglery. It is well to be reminded that no acorn resembles the grand oak that some eventually produce.

While references to Maryland are few, it is a Maryland of intrigue and faction more than "pleasant living." Nine months after the landing at St. Clement's Island, one worthy is described as throwing his hat to the ground, stamping on it furiously and crying "a pox upon Maryland" because the reality seemed to him less than the promise which brought him across the ocean. There was trouble with Virginia and Captain Claibourne over Kent Island. These are described not as the peculiar product of a strange new world but more as the extension of ideas and habits that were familiar enough in the Old.

There is much more to the book. Architecture, painting, engraving and sculpture are illustrated with photographs and evocative words. If this account is not the whole story of the formative period of American culture, it is at least the part which has not been so well described as in this book.

NICHOLAS VARGA

Loyola College

Court Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland 1696-1699.
Edited by JOSEPH H. SMITH and PHILIP A. CROWL. Washington, D. C.: The American Historical Association in collaboration with the Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland [American Legal Records, vol. IX, edited for the American Historical Association by the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund], 1964. cxv, 674. \$10.

Slowly and surely the number of published volumes of early American court cases grows. Here is the ninth volume, edited with

exquisite faithfulness by authority of the Littleton-Griswold Fund. That simple statement goes far toward being a review of this volume. The introduction, with its 117 pages, provides the essential background for any use of the court records it contains, especially for scholars who are not familiar with Maryland Provincial history. It begins with an historical view of early Prince George's County history. Despite the U. S. Board of Geographic Names, many prefer to leave the apostrophe in Maryland county names where it seems to belong. Next comes a sketch, a valuable one, of Maryland judicial and legal procedure. It is interesting to the reviewer that the editors share her very low opinion of the clerk of the Court. Yet, even in an opus as well-done as this one, there are errors that should not have been made. Mereness, Newton D., entitled his book, now long since out of print and unobtainable, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*: he did not say Maryland as a Proprietary Colony, and the editors (and their proofreaders) of these invaluable records should have followed him. Not even when the British Crown took over control of Maryland, as they did in 1689, did they call it a colony, or deprive the Proprietary of his rights of ownership. Another point, if perhaps a minor one, is the failure to give the full names of authors cited in the footnotes. Page xi speaks of Sioussat's *Lionel Copley*. Which Sioussat did they mean? There was St. George Leakin S.: there was also St. George's mother, Mrs. Annie M. Leakin S., who like her son also worked in the field of Maryland history. The Morriss who gave us the good outline of colonial trade of Maryland, still used, was Margaret Shove Morriss: there is also still active in Maryland history one Richard M. Morris. And there are two gentlemen named Andrews.

But enough of these minutiae. They are only pinpricks. The book is so valuable that any demonstrable error is annoying. The contents are the records of the county court of Prince George's County for a three-year period, 1696-1699, from the foundation of the county. As anybody familiar with the ancient ways knows, there is much set down that does not deal especially with the courts of the new county. In fact, the new officials are referred to as justices of the peace and commissioners of Prince George's County. They were all the government there was for the county. One of the first things they did was to divide the county into hundreds, and to appoint constables, press masters and highway overseers. In the three and a half year period from April 1696 to October 1699 there were more than 120 cattle marks recorded. If this seems trivial matter to put into a county court record, consider that, in the practical absence of fences, only such a recording

could establish Ownership. Establish it, that is, unless someone altered someone else's mark. That did happen, if seldom (*Archives* LXV, pp. 12-13, 38, 46).

Since this volume is devoted entirely to Prince George's County court, none of the cases directly concern other counties. In the records of the Provincial Court, any county might give rise to a case, and sometimes it is uncertain to which part of the Province the proceedings do relate. But aside from that, a page from the record here under review might as well come from the Provincial Court, save that registration of cattle marks there grew fewer as those in the county courts increased. There is an index of proper names, cases as well as individuals, and a valiant endeavor has been made to find the proper spelling. Sometimes this just can't be done, specially if there is no signature for comparison. But anyone advanced enough to be using these records ought to be wise enough to look for every name under every possible spelling and some impossible ones. What would a reader make of such a name as Icanadeous? The writer of that meant Ignatius. This name can be found through the index of manuscripts in the Maryland Historical Society. Besides this index of proper names, Mr. Smith and Mr. Crowl have given us another one, of subject matter. Both are of great value.

This fine volume has the warm praise of the reviewer, the very warmest. But there is a point on which she differs with equal warmth from the practice of the learned editors. That point is the modernizing of the text as written in Liber A, now permanently in Archivist Radoff's watchful care. As clearly set forth in the introduction, p. viii, it has been modernized. Contractions have been expanded, and some of the marginal matter has been moved. Some modernizing was necessary, or the cost of printing would have been prohibitive. In the late seventeenth century there were seven different forms of the letter *P* or *p*, and to have printed each one as the scribe wrote it would have meant to cut each one as a separate character. It is, then better to print a simple *P* or *p*, and to trust to the scholar to interpret each one. After all, the volumes of the *Archives of Maryland* and of the *American Legal Records* are not intended for high school students and they need not be catered to. When the state of South Carolina began, not so long ago, to print its magnificent colonial records, Editor James Easterby set as his goal the printing of the manuscript as it would have been done by a contemporary printer. All well and good. If, and it is a big *IF*, you could be sure how the old-timer would have done it. In the absence of original manuscript, some of the later volumes of the proceedings of the Assembly had to be printed from Green's

Votes and Proceedings. The printing of Jonas Green was outstanding. Lawrence C. Wroth has said of the large-paper edition of Bacon's Laws that "it presents a quiet splendor, a mellow and harmonious blending of paper and types which was not surpassed in any book printed in colonial America," and his *Votes and Proceedings* were only less good than his Bacon. The printed volumes of the *Archives of Maryland* have always been set directly from the manuscript libers, when we had the libers, and after being thus set, the proof was compared with the Green printings when we had them. So here we had both the manuscript and the printed book as printed by a contemporary printer and a very good one. And by no manner of means do the liber and the printed book always agree. It does then, seem to this reviewer that the editors of these Prince George's County records could have reproduced the liber as well as printing direct from them, and that, in so doing, they would have avoided changes that look so odd to the scholarly eye, be it the judge, the lawyer or the student. But for the over-all performance, there is, there can be, only praise.

ELIZABETH MERRITT

Editor of the *Archives of Maryland*

Maryland Historical Society

Virginia's Colonial Churches: An Architectural Guide. By JAMES SCOTT RAWLINGS. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1963. 286. \$9.50.

Mr. Rawlings has produced a very readable architectural guide to the forty-eight surviving churches built in Virginia prior to the Revolution. The buildings under discussion are listed according to the date of their construction, and the lasting value of this book will be its factual architectural references. Besides supplying measurements for each structure, the author also discusses the fenestration, brickwork, woodwork, roofing materials, flooring, etc., both in terms of their original construction and of the extent of repairs and replacements. Mention is often made of the renewal of a few bricks in a water table. In the case of a ruin such as the Jamestown church, archeological findings are also listed.

Mr. Rawlings has avoided what can be a pitfall in an architectural work, the squabbling and lengthy discussion about the date of a church. The most current example debated by archi-

tectural historians is, of course, St. Luke's Church, near Smithfield. Both arguments as to the date of its erection are presented, but the date 1682 is given in the index. The appendices supply the times that each church can be visited and a list of the extant colonial vestry books and parish registers. The factual and architectural text necessitates the excellent glossary of architectural terms supplemented with drawings.

It should be mentioned that Mr. Rawlings has also made an inventory of the surviving books, silver, and furnishings of each colonial church. Since this book will become an important reference book on colonial architecture, it is unfortunate that it was not published with more photographs.

WILLIAM V. ELDER III

Baltimore Museum of Art

Refugee Life in the Confederacy. By MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY
Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. x, 327.
\$8.

In this excellent account of refugee life during the Civil War, Professor Massey focused her attention on the Confederate sympathizer who attempted to remain within the contracting Confederacy. The invasion of the South by Union forces in 1861 set into motion a movement which became a significant factor in wartime Southern life. Fear of the Union army, atrocity stories, the effects of mass hysteria, and personal motivations were among the many factors which produced this floating population. A large percentage were from the upper classes, and an overwhelming majority consisted of women, children, and the aged. Safety was sought in both cities and rural areas. The city with its lures of employment, public and private assistance, and social opportunities attracted many, and the refugee in turn created overcrowded conditions and inflation.

The reception and treatment of refugees were often as varied as their living conditions. Landlords, local reaction, destitution, and deprivations made them "the greatest sufferers" of the war. The Confederacy was slow in recognizing the need for a relief program, and it was not until the last two years of the war that formulated programs were attempted. The effects of the refugee problem were far reaching and contributed to the breakdown of Southern morale

as well as in compounding economic and social conditions. Union authorities were aware of its significance and on occasion used it as an effective weapon.

Extensive research and the careful synthesis of material have made this work a notable contribution and an essential one to a fuller understanding of the Confederacy. Despite a sense of repetition at times and understandable problems of organization, Professor Massey has done a remarkable piece of scholarship in "bringing order out of chaos." With insight and understanding the author brings the problems and experiences of the refugee vividly to life. In doing so, she has well served her "forgotten people" in guiding the reader down the refugee road.

RICHARD R. DUNCAN

University of Richmond

Tumult on the Mountains: Lumbering in West Virginia 1770-1920.

By ROY B. CLARKSON. Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Company, 1964. 410. \$12.

With the current focus on Appalachia, Professor Clarkson's history of the lumbering industry in West Virginia is not only timely but also extremely interesting. One could scarcely imagine a more suited author of such a volume, for Professor Clarkson brings to this task his background in biology (and a doctoral dissertation on "The Vascular Flora of the Monongahela National Forest, West Virginia") as well as his family involvement, both his father and brother having been loggers. It is perhaps more the latter feature which stimulates interest, since the personal contacts and interviews which season the text have added a flavor which would be impossible to capture otherwise.

Although the main text runs disappointingly to only ninety-seven pages, Dr. Clarkson has managed to compress a tremendous amount of information into his ten brief chapters. Beginning with a description of the forest primeval, he carries the story from pioneer days, whipsaws and water sawmills, to the boom towns of Davis, Cass, Hambleton, and Horton, and the giant mills of the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company, a modern corporation. In addition, he includes a dictionary of loggers' words, a good bibliography, and appendices listing locomotives used in lumbering operations in West Virginia.

The main feature of the volume, however, is sandwiched between

the text and the appendices—two hundred and fifty-seven pages of pictures which show practically everything connected to the lumbering industry and life in the woods camps. There are pictures of logslides and whippoorwill switches, horse-operated tram roads, Blackwater Canyon, and the results of erosion and fire. There are photographs of now abandoned towns, of old mills, bridges, trestles, arks in the rivers, wrecks, camps, teams and crews, steam loaders, steam skidders, and steam shovels, to say nothing of steam engines.

While it might seem that the equipment used is overemphasized, that is not so, for throughout the illustrations are pictures of the men that steam all but replaced: bosses and river drivers, teamsters and cooks, young men and old. There is a Brady aura to many of the pictures, catching, as they do, the strength, the humor, the very personality of many of these now dead loggers. If Professor Clarkson were to be congratulated for only one thing in this volume, it would have to be for his compilation and preservation of this invaluable pictorial record.

Tumult on the Mountains deserves more praise than that, however, for in this volume can be found a guide to the attractive presentation of local history and local lore.

C.A.P.H.

Baltimore, Md.

The Battle of Monmouth. By SAMUEL STELLE SMITH. Monmouth Beach, New Jersey; Philip Freneau Press, 1964. 32. \$3.50.

To the amateur military historian, well-researched battle analyses are all too few, and "The Battle of Monmouth" certainly embodies a great deal of research. The purpose of this little book is to clarify and put in proper sequence and perspective the events which took place at and around Monmouth Courthouse, New Jersey, 28 June, 1778, when the American Army, under General George Washington, newly reorganized and given field discipline the likes of which it had never had before, took on the rear guard of the British Army under General Sir Henry Clinton, which was en route to New York. Results were inconclusive—the Americans wound up in possession of the field, but after the battle, the British embarked at Sandy Hook for New York with only minor interference, and took their own time doing it, completing their operation 5 July.

The author, however, falls somewhat short of his goal, and could profit from the examples set by Miller, Ward, Freeman and Morrison in their handling of confusing events. By making too much use of collateral information (for example, descriptions of looting and pictures of churches) the author merely distracts the reader. No fewer than seven maps are presented, but two are such poor reproductions that they are almost worthless, and four battle maps are so busy with detail that they defeat their purpose. (They also lack that basic necessity, the cardinal points of the compass, whereby the map may be oriented.) Publishers probably will never learn that maps should be inserted so the reader can remove them and refer to them as he proceeds! Moreover, although the author includes much material of interest, his work suffers from extremely casual editing and redaction.

On the plus side of the ledger, the book is attractive in format and shows what can be gleaned from a careful examination of primary sources. It should be of use to the specialist, and one hopes that it will be followed by further efforts along the same lines.

HUGH BENET, JR.

Baltimore, Md.

Falls Church: By Fence and Fireside. By MELVIN LEE STEADMAN, JR. Falls Church, Virginia: Falls Church Public Library, 1964. xiii, 552. \$9.

The reader will find the content of this delightful book rich in genealogy and history. Format and presentation differ from books familiar to us such as Warfield's "Founders," Hanson's "Old Kent," Torrence's "Old Somerset," Jones "Dorchester County," Emory's "Queen Annes" and Tilghman's "Talbot County" not only because the geographical area covered is much smaller, but also because this once rather sparsely settled ancient community now finds itself a full-grown, modern American city. The warmth and charm of the book are derived from the author's lifelong association with folks by the neighborly fences and firesides of Falls Church. His understanding of people through his ministry is evidenced by color—the absence of dryness in the book.

The community takes its name from the church on the road to the falls. We see again in the proceedings of the vestry The Father of Our Country as benefactor. We delight in finding our Francis

Scott Key in another role, as a lay reader of the Diocese of Maryland, preaching in Falls Church, which, of course, recalls that hymnals contain another hymn of his in addition to the National Anthem.

I know of several families in Baltimore who have already found long desired genealogical data in this book. From the surnames I suspect that the book will be of value to many in Maryland who will find that a part of their lineage is in Northern Virginia.

ARTHUR C. BUSHEY, JR.

Baltimore, Md.

As We Were: The Story of Old Elizabethtown. By THEODORE THAYER. Newark, N. J.: The New Jersey Historical Society, 1964. x, 280. \$10.

With the publication of this handsome volume, Professor Theodore Thayer has added another to the excellent list of books that he has done on early American history. This local study is more than a well-documented, well-written chronicle of one small area. In Elizabethtown's development from its founding in 1664 as the first English settlement in New Jersey to its incorporation as a city in 1853 is reflected almost every aspect of our early history as a nation. For this reason, the book has some value for students of early American history.

However, students of New Jersey history and genealogists will find this study exceedingly useful and informative. Published as Volume XIII in *The Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, it contains a wealth of information on early New Jersey politics, the town's founding fathers, many of its early prominent families, and local place names.

As local history this book has real merit. Numerous illustrations, maps, an adequate index, and footnotes at the end of the book all enhance its value as a reference tool for the local historian and the genealogist.

JOSEPH C. MORTON

Waynesburg College

Baltimore Industrial Development 1919-1950. By H. FINDLAY FRENCH and RALPH J. ROBINSON. Privately printed. Baltimore, Schneidereith & Sons, 1964. 64.

This factual history of Baltimore's new industrial development in the period of 1919-1950 is indeed an understatement of the thought and planning which resulted in the founding and activities of the Industrial Bureau. It was an era of transformation from an excellent distributing center to one of both distributing and manufacturing which diversification led to the growth and much greater development of this important area.

As this reviewer was the president of one of the major companies which the Industrial Bureau secured for Baltimore in the 1920's, he is in an authoritative position to evaluate the talented executive group which was in charge of this Bureau's outstanding accomplishments during the years covered by this history. It is sufficient to say that a total of over 100,000 manufacturing jobs in this area were made available largely through the Bureau's efforts.

Only a very limited number of copies of this book have been printed for the purpose of insuring a permanent record in the files of appropriately selected libraries in Maryland and elsewhere. It is regretted that no wider distribution was available to the authors who, during these years, either headed or were actively connected with the Bureau's work.

JOHN T. MENZIES

Baltimore, Md.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The Founding of American Civilization. By THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc. 1963. *The Middle Colonies*, xiii, 367. \$7.50. *The Old South*, xlv, 364. \$7.50

The American Enlightenment: The Shaping of the American Experiment and a Free Society. Edited by ADRIENNE KOCH. New York: George Braziller, 1964. 669. \$8.50.

Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty: Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution. A revised translation with introduction and notes by MARVIN L. BROUN, JR., Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.) xlvii, 222. \$6.

Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier 1747-1762. By ROBERT W. RAMSEY. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964. xvii, 251. \$6.

Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders. By EZRA J. WARNER. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. xxv, 680. \$15.

Pulitzer Prize Editor: A Biography of John A. Cockerill, 1845-1896. By HOMER W. KING. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1965. xx, 33. \$6.50.

Colonials and Patriots: Historic Places Commemorating Our Forebears, 1700-1783. By FRANK B. SARLES, JR. and CHARLES E. SHEDD. Edited by JOHN PORTER BLOOM and ROBERT M. UTLEY. Volume VI, The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1964. xvii, 286. \$2.75.

Jonathan Worth: A Biography of a Southern Unionist. By RICHARD L. ZUBER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 351. \$7.50.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Library Needs—The attention of members and friends of the Society is respectfully invited to the fact that the continued growth of the Society's library is now, as it has ever been, largely dependent upon the generosity of those interested in the preservation and utilization of historical materials relating to Maryland and to the country at large. The Society is always interested in acquiring manuscripts of whatever description by, from, to, or relating to Marylanders of all periods. Although our collection of printed materials concerning Maryland and early American history (to 1865) is large, many items not presently owned are highly desirable. Our library has a well deserved reputation as a major depository of source materials in American history. Many friends have remembered this Society when searching for a proper depository for historical materials. It is hoped that many more will do so. Staff members are always willing to examine material and make suggestions as to its disposition.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture Conference—The Conference will be held at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., April 9-10. Richard Maxwell Brown of Rutgers will read "The South Carolina Backcountry's Generation of Violence, 1760-1785," with William W. Abbot of William and Mary College as commentator. Nicholas Varga of Loyola College, Baltimore, will present a paper, "The Concept of 'Party' in the Historiography of Colonial New York," on which Milton M. Klein of Long Island University will comment and Jack P. Greene of the Johns Hopkins University will be discussant. Robert M. Calhoon of the University of North Carolina, Greenville, will present his research on the Tories, "Critics of Colonial Resistance, 1774-1775." A. C. Land of the University of Maryland will comment and Rhoda Dorsey of Goucher College will be the discussant.

The Conference will also include, on Friday, an evening of early American music by the Georgetown University String Quartet, a reception by the University, and a luncheon on Saturday at which the diners will briefly announce their current research interests or publications.

Rooms for participants, who will make their own reservations, have been set aside at two near-campus hotels: the Georgetown Inn

and the Key Bridge Motor Lodge. Reservations should be made before March 26. Participants are reminded of the large number of additional hotels in Washington.

Registration for the Conference will be held Friday and Saturday in the foyer of New South Building. Chairman of the Conference is Richard Walsh of Georgetown University. The first session will begin at 3:00 p.m., Friday, the ninth, in the faculty lounge of New South, and on Saturday at 10:00 a.m. in the Copley Lounge.

Parker Prize Awards—The first prize in the Sumner A. and Dudrea W. Parker Contest for the best Maryland genealogical paper in 1964 has been awarded to Mr. Carroll Taylor Sinclair of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for his study, "The Taylor Family of Maryland," 6 volumes. This family is of Anne Arundel, Baltimore and Harford counties. Second prize was given to Mr. Llewellyn Digges of Bradshaw, Maryland, and third prize to Mrs. Loys Irving Edwards of Silver Spring, Maryland. Other entries in the contest were "Descendants of James Murray and Jemimah Morgan of Baltimore County (1704-1964)" by Robert Barnes of Baltimore; Anthony Bahr and His Descendants" by Mrs. William E. Tirk of San Diego, California; "Eason-Lowe Families of Talbot County, Maryland," by Mrs. Frances B. S. Mormann of Baltimore; and "The Dalton Family" by Miss Annie P. Dalton of Baltimore. Judges for the 1964 contest were Dr. Caleb Dorsey, representing the Maryland Genealogical Society, and John D. Kilbourne, Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society.

Entries for the 1965 Parker awards should be received on or before December 31. Manuscripts must be typed and must relate to a Maryland family. It is not necessary that the compiler be a native or resident of Maryland. All entries become the property of the library of the Maryland Historical Society.

Pennsylvania Life and Culture Seminars—The Ninth Annual Institute of Pennsylvania Life and Culture will be held June 22-25, 1965 at the Pennsylvania Farm Museum at Landis Valley. Planned with both the interested layman and the professional in mind, this year's Institute will offer seminars on the following topics: 1) Pennsylvania Antiques; 2) Historical Restoration, Practical Aspects; 3) Early Pennsylvania Stitchery; 4) Eighteenth Century Garden Design; 5) Early Iron Making in Pennsylvania; 6) Pennsylvania Folklore; 7) Pennsylvania History, 1681-1765; 8) Prehistory of Man in

North America. The registration fee for the meeting, including two dinners, three luncheons, and a concert by the American Society of Ancient Instruments, is twenty-five dollars. For further information, write to

Mr. Irwin Richman, Chairman,
Box 969,
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17108

Fellowships Offered in Preservation Field—Twelve fellowships and openings for six non-fellows to attend a Seminar for Historical Administrators June 13-July 23 in Williamsburg, Va., will be available, according to an announcement made today by William J. Murtagh, director of the Department of Education of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The course for graduate students interested in administrative careers in museums and historical agencies is co-sponsored by the National Trust, Colonial Williamsburg, the American Association for State and Local History, and the American Association of Museums. Each fellowship will carry a stipend of \$450 for qualified graduate students with one year of graduate training in American history, American studies, American art and architectural history, and allied fields. Six non-fellows, selected from qualified applicants and already actively engaged in work in this field, will be admitted at their own expense. The program, being offered for the seventh summer, is planned to introduce graduate students to career opportunities in the rapidly expanding field of administration of historical agencies. It will provide training and background information on the administration of historic houses, museums, restorations, historical societies, national and state historic sites and parks, and city and area planning. The study program includes: the evaluation and development of the resources of historical agencies; interpretation of projects through exhibits and other media; and administrative problems, such as financing, public relations, publications and trustee relationships. Application blanks and further information may be obtained by addressing:

Coordinator, Seminar for Historical Administrators,
National Trust for Historic Preservation,
815—17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Posting Signs, Taverns and Recipes—I am researching some of our early American colonial posting signs, inns and taverns and their menus—recipes and favorite dishes of our pioneering forebears as featured on their ancestral family tables during that period of

our history. It occurred to me that perhaps some of the readers of the *Magazine* might like to share old and inherited recipes with the readers of my forthcoming book on the subject indicated above. Any and all such data would be greatly appreciated as would suggestions for further source material.

Chet L. Surtell
6274 Sunset Blvd.,
Hollywood 28, Calif.

Lanham—St. John's Piscataway Parish records (Prince George's Co.) show the following: "George Lanham b. circa 1755 m. Ann Jarman 23 Feb., 1781; Colmore Lanham b. 23 June 1787 [my great-grandfather]." The 1790 Census lists another son and three daughters and there may have been still other children later. I wish information on any children of George Lanham and his wife Ann (Jarman) Lanham as to name and where births were recorded.

Mrs. Orton A. Kirschman
850 Webster St.,
Palo Alto, Calif. 94301

Bowie Martin—I have found in a family album a fine picture of a very young child, made in Atlanta, Georgia, by C. W. Motes. It is dated, in handwriting, May 20, 1886. If this is a relative of the Maryland Bowie family, I would like to give the picture to one of his descendants.

Mrs. G. Maxwell Armor, Jr.
118 St. Dunstons Road,
Baltimore 12, Md.

Taylor's Chapel—Mr. Carroll Taylor Sinclair [see "Parker Prize Awards" in this section] is currently much interested in updating the history of Taylor's Chapel on Mt. Pleasant Golf Course between Belvedere Avenue and Northern Parkway on Hillen Road. We would appreciate any information concerning the early days of the Chapel, particularly around the turn of the century; but information on any period, either before or after that, would be welcome.

Mrs. Donald Loeschke
5517 Plymouth Road,
Baltimore 14, Md.

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Pilgrimage headquarters,
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Cover Picture—"The Avalon Nail and Iron Works" (ca. 1855) was lithographed on stone by E. Sachse of Baltimore. See *Md. Hist. Mag.* (Dec., 1963), p. 401, for some notes on Sachse. The Nail and Iron Works were erected in 1800 by the Dorsey family (Scharf, *Baltimore City and County*, p. 425). The Works were destroyed in 1868 by a flood.

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